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*Fig. 1. Tomb of Philippe de Courtenay
Assisi, St. Francesco*

THE MASTER OF THE TOMB OF PHILIPPE DE COURTENAY IN ASSISI

By W. R. VALENTINER

I

RAMO DI PAGANELLO, the earliest Siennese sculptor whom we know by name and by a great reputation acquired during his lifetime, is still a mysterious figure. Because he is mentioned in a document of 1281 as one of the most outstanding living sculptors, considerable effort to identify him with existing sculptures has been made by modern students from Schmarsow,¹ who attributed to him what is now convincingly attributed to Lorenzo Maetani, to Enzo Carli² who, in his excellent book on the façade sculptures of Orvieto Cathedral, suggests that the reliefs on the two inner pilasters are by Ramo. These sculptures are, however, so closely related to the Maetani workshop that if they should be by Ramo, they would certainly not show in him the originality which we may expect from the documents. They are, besides, too late in style for him, as the façade sculptures were executed between 1310 and 1325.³ And Ramo, who was already a famous artist in the eighties, is mentioned in only one Orvieto document in 1293.

The impossibility of identifying the artist with outstanding works has even caused some scholars⁴ to question the correctness of the favorable opinion which contemporaries held toward Ramo. They believe that local pride of the Siennese exaggerated his importance. But it must be said that contemporary judgment in these early periods has been generally found reliable, more so than that of more recent times. The Siennese "Domopera" would hardly have insisted that Ramo should work with Giovanni Pisano on the Cathedral, nor would the Orvietans have given him an exceptionally high salary if he was nothing out of the ordinary.

Before entering into a stylistic discussion, I compile what we know from the four documents hitherto published on Ramo di Paganello.⁵

(1) 1281. A proposition to reinstate Ramo di Paganello as citizen of Siena is laid before the magistrate by the *operaio* Fra Magio in order that he may work again in the town. He had lost his citizenship because of the seduction of a married woman and lived in exile *oltra montane* (most probably in France). He is considered to be "de bonis intalliatoribus et sculptoribus et subtilioribus de mundo qui inveniri possit." If he was about thirty years

old at this time, he must have been born about 1250, which would make him at least one generation older than Lorenzo Maetani and Tino di Camaino.

(2) 1288. "Magister Ramus" is charged, together with his brothers and nephews,⁶ to execute "fine, beautiful, and noble work" for the Cathedral along the lines laid down by the leading architect Giovanni Pisano.

(3) 1293. "M. Ramus Paganelli de Senis" has an important position in connection with the work on the Cathedral at Orvieto. It is useless to try to minimize this position, as has sometimes been done, because we know that he received the highest salary possible at that time, ten soldi a day, while Giovanni Pisano in Siena received in 1299 only eight soldi and three denari, and Nicola di Nuto in 1325 as one of the leading sculptors, nine soldi. Ramo was undoubtedly the first important sculptor at the Cathedral of Orvieto soon after the building was begun, at the time when Fra Benignate was the leading architect. The foundation was laid in November, 1290.

It is worthwhile to mention that there were many nationalities represented among the masons and sculptors who worked with Ramo:⁷ Romans (Cosmati), Tuscans, Lombards, Germans, French and English.

Ramo is not mentioned in Orvieto again after 1293; that he worked there until Lorenzo Maetani took up his position in 1310 is purely hypothetical. The work on the Cathedral seems to have been stopped, more or less, at the beginning of the century for lack of funds. Fra Benignate, the first leading architect, is mentioned only twice, in 1295 and 1300.

(4) 1314. "Ramulus de Senis" is mentioned in a letter as working on the Palace of Bartolomeo di Capua in Naples. Ramo has been asked to go to Orvieto so as to acquire there marble and mosaics for the decorations of the Palace and to engage expert workmen. That this "Ramulus" is identical with our Ramus is now generally accepted.

From these documents we learn that Ramus was born in Siena, stayed for some time in France about 1280, returned to Siena in 1281, worked on the Cathedral at Siena from 1288 onward in company with Giovanni Pisano, was active on the Cathedral at Orvieto in 1293 and worked later for the Neapolitan court.

The identification I propose is based upon the following considerations. For a long time I have thought it possible that the tomb of Philippe de Courtenay (1283) (Fig. 1) in Assisi might be a work by Ramo, since it is one of the few outstanding works of this time for which no author has as yet been found. Its creator seemed to be imbued with the Siennese spirit, especially in



*Figs. 2 and 3. Detail of Figure 1: Apostle
Statuettes*



*Figs. 4 and 5. Detail of Figure 1: Apostle
Statuettes*



*Fig. 6. Bronze Relief above Southern Door
Orvieto, Cathedral*



Fig. 7. Detail of Figure 6: Enthroned Christ



*Fig. 8. Pope Nicolas IV
Orvieto, City Wall*

the angels with their sweet expressions. The artist must have been acquainted with contemporary French sculpture, more so than most other Italian sculptors of his time, not excluding Giovanni Pisano who was better acquainted with earlier French sculptures than with those of his own period. The order for the tomb was undoubtedly given by a personality of the Neapolitan court where Philippe de Courtenay, titled Emperor of Constantinople, had his residence; probably by Charles I. And as we have seen, Ramo had a connection with the Neapolitan court although at a somewhat later date. In the year of Philippe's death (1283) Bartolomeo di Capua, whose palace Ramo decorated later, became Grand Protonotary. This powerful minister and international jurist served Charles I and his followers for many years (he died in 1328).⁸

But no certainty could be arrived at so long as no relation could be established between the master of the Assisi tomb and works in Orvieto and Siena. In studying again the tomb last summer I found that the apostle statuettes (Figs. 2-5) at the base of the monument (which never had been photographed) showed undoubtedly the same hand as the apostles on the bronze relief above the small south portal of Orvieto Cathedral (Fig. 6) which is signed by Rubeus (Rosso). This bronze caster (*padellaio*) is known from an inscription on the fountain at Perugia by Nicolo and Giovanni Pisano. He signed the three bronze caryatids at the top of the fountain; but no one ever believed that he was the artist who modeled this beautiful group, which shows clearly the style of the two masters of the fountain. Bronze casting was at that time such a difficult process that the technician thought it appropriate to sign his name to the work instead of that of the artist who modeled it. As the style of the bronze relief in Orvieto is quite different from that of the bronze group in Perugia, we come to the conclusion that the first one also was modeled by an artist other than Rosso. If he had been the sculptor, this little *padellaio* would have been the creator of the monumental tomb in Assisi—which is most unlikely. Rosso was probably not young when he cast the Orvieto bronze relief, as the bronze group in Perugia is dated 1277 and he is mentioned for the last time in Perugia in 1293.⁹ This may well be the date of the Orvieto relief which belongs to the earliest section of the Cathedral and is in style closely related to the first marble columns inside the Cathedral, which were constructed at the same time. These capitals have been more than once hypothetically attributed to Ramo di Paganello for the simple reason that they belong to the section where he must have worked on the Cathedral. We are probably not wrong when we date the bronze relief about 1293, that

is three years after the Cathedral was founded and the year when Ramo is mentioned in the documents.

The similarity between the apostles on the Orvieto relief and those on the Assisi tomb consists in similar proportions, rather elongated figures with small heads; similar drapery, the two straight folds falling down between the legs are characteristic; similar faces with short beards enframing the whole face, and long hanging moustaches; ugly types which cannot be mistaken. A striking peculiarity is the posture of the feet turned out in a Charlie Chaplin manner.¹⁰ Some gestures—the hand laid before the chest with the forefinger pointing to the right—appear in both the relief and the free standing figures.

The attitude of the enthroned Christ (Fig. 7) of the Orvieto relief should be compared with the Madonna of the tomb, where we find the same folds of the drapery falling in a curve to the ground, the feet following in position the same direction. I believe we can recognize without difficulty the same artist in the statue of a Pope (Fig. 8) attributed by A. Venturi¹¹ to Fra Guglielmo with whose feeble art it has nothing in common. This statue, at one time in the Museo dell'Opera in Orvieto and now built into the city wall, was formerly called Boniface VIII who, indeed, according to the documents, had ordered some effigies in marble of himself for Orvieto in 1297;¹² but Venturi, after pointing out that it had little likeness to the portraits of this pope, believed it to be a statue of his predecessor Nicolas IV (1288-92), the founder of Orvieto Cathedral, in whose memory the Orvietans would have erected the statue. In any case, whether it is Boniface or Nicolas, it must have been executed precisely at the time when Ramo di Paganello was active in Orvieto.

If the Assisi tomb is a work of this master, the style of its statues must be found on sculptures of the Cathedral at Siena where he was at home. This is the deciding point in our argument. E. Carli has discovered four remarkably beautiful busts on a rather inaccessible part of the Cathedral at Siena, on the dimly lighted inside wall of the façade.¹³ They are placed high up on each side of the two side portals. On the corresponding places of the center doorway we find two well-modeled lions, one lying, the other in a half sitting position, which have never been photographed; they are undoubtedly by the same hand as the busts.¹⁴ These sculptures are by an artist of great originality who must have worked at the Cathedral at the same time as Giovanni Pisano. Yet he preserved his own independent style. One may wonder why the few works he executed with so much ability are hidden away in some dark corners.

But as we know that Giovanni Pisano was obviously not too sympathetic toward Ramo di Paganello, who was forced upon him more or less by the *operaio*, the thought suggests itself that Ramo was the creator. This possibility has also been considered by Enzo Carli, with utmost reserve, however, and without following up its consequences, as the material we possess of this master in Siena proves extremely limited. I believe that after we approach the problem from another direction we are able to strengthen our theory by connecting these Sienese sculptures with those of the Assisi tomb.

Characteristic for the faces of the four busts are the short foreheads, the straight pointed noses, the almond-shaped eyes marked by pronounced outlines, and especially the fat, almost double chins extending from heavy necks with strong muscles. These traits we observe also in the main figures of the Assisi tomb, in the life portrait of Philippe de Courtenay (Fig. 9) and the Madonna (Fig. 11), and the two angels holding curtains (Figs. 12 and 14). It was not easy to photograph the heads of the angels, which we produce for comparison, in the right positions. I believe, however, if we consider that the angels are works of decorative character and the busts in the Siena portrait types (Figs. 13 and 15), we come to the conclusion that both groups of sculptures are by the same hand. The busts have eyes with pupils inlaid in black stone, a peculiarity of the Romanesque sculptors not found in Giovanni Pisano's works but used again by some of his more conservative pupils. The dark inlaid pupils are given also to the eyes of the Madonna and the statue of Philippe de Courtenay seated, resulting in a strange light effect on the faces. One of the finest features of the Assisi tomb is the roaring lion with its forward striding movement (Fig. 10), on which the enthroned Emperor is sitting. The representation of the wild beast is more realistic than that of other lions of the period—not excluding Giovanni Pisano's, whose lions seem to be derived from those of the Romanesque period with their abstract forms—while our sculptor must have seen and studied real lions, possibly during his stay in France. This lion seems to me in style closely related to those on the inside wall of Siena Cathedral.

II

The tomb of Philippe de Courtenay, which has a prominent place next to the entrance of the lower Church of S. Francesco in Assisi, has thus far interested historians more than art students. The question as to whose monument it was remained unsettled through centuries until, in recent years, the solution

was found.¹⁵ As early as the fourteenth century the guides had confused the issue, most of them not recognizing that the crowned person is a man and not a woman. The earliest writer who mentions the tomb, Fra Bartolomeo da Pisa (1385-70), is correct in saying that the deceased represented is a king; he believed it to be Jean de Brienne, King of Jerusalem and Emperor of Constantinople, who died in 1237 and whose daughter Maria of Antiochia ceded the kingdom of Jerusalem to Charles I of Anjou. She is one of the women who later has been mistakenly thought to be interred in the tomb of Assisi.

Three sixteenth century authors expressed the opinion that a Venetian queen of Cyprus by the name of Eugubea or Ecuba is the crowned person of the tomb, an opinion accepted by Vasari, who adds that the sculptor of the tomb was a certain Fuccio Fiorentino. This tradition has been kept alive until our times; the Alinari photograph has the caption, "Monumento alla memoria di Ecuba Lusignana Regina di Cipro and Gerusalemme." Supino¹⁶ pointed out that no such person existed in the early history of Cyprus or Jerusalem, and we may add that Vasari's Fuccio Fiorentino is a legendary figure also. H. Thode¹⁷ was the first to go back to the earliest source, that of Fra Bartolomeo da Pisa, and Supino followed him, both believing that Jean de Brienne is the crowned person of the tomb. We do not need to mention the names of several queens of the Neapolitan court who have been suggested by different writers, some even believing that two women were interred in the tomb, one represented as enthroned on the lion, the other portrayed in the figure lying in the death chamber. Suffice it to say that Supino proved by the costumes that the crowned persons were men, and G. Gerola demonstrated with the help of the coat-of-arms that the tomb is that of Philippe de Courtenay, titled Emperor of Constantinople and last male member of the French line of the Courtenays in Naples. This coat-of-arms appears no less than eleven times on the monument.

Philippe de Courtenay, nephew of Jean de Brienne, was born in 1243, became engaged to Beatrice d'Anjou in 1267, whom he married in 1273. He stayed during the rest of his life in Naples where he held his court in the Palazzo Capuano, the present Vicaria. In the year of his death (1283) Charles I gave him the command of eleven ships in their expedition against Sicily after the Sicilian Vespers (1282). This was in June, as we learn from a letter of the King written on November 27, in which he mentions the death of Courtenay. Philippe was a pawn in the secret political game of Charles I, who was after Philippe's crown and for this reason had given him his daughter in marriage. The King is known to have been chasing after crowns all his life, trying to



Fig. 9. Detail of Figure 1: Philippe de Courtenay



Fig. 10. Detail of Figure 1: Roaring Lion



Fig. 11. Detail of Figure 1: Madonna Statue



Fig. 12. Detail of Figure 1: Angel



*Fig. 13. Marble Bust
Siena, Cathedral*

add as many as possible, by way of diplomacy, to that of the two Sicilies. In 1267 he had induced Maria of Antiochia to renounce her title as Queen of Jerusalem; he would undoubtedly soon have become Emperor of Constantinople had not his own death (1285) prevented him from pushing aside the hunchback daughter of Philippe, Catherine of Courtenay, whom he had married to Charles of Valois, her own cousin. We may be certain that he took good care of the burial of his son-in-law, as he did of other members of the Neapolitan court who were of political importance to him like Jean de Brienne, for whom he erected a monument in Barletta. It is therefore most likely that Charles I, the great patron of Arnolfo di Cambio, was the one who ordered and probably paid for the tomb of Philippe de Courtenay and had it erected very soon after his death. If the sculptor selected for its execution by the King or by Catherine of Courtenay was Ramo di Paganello, it is not difficult to understand the choice, since Ramo was known to have studied in France and must by that time have had some reputation. This would also explain the stylistic relation of the tomb to Arnolfo di Cambio and to the Cosmati in Rome, as they all worked at this time either for Charles I or for his political associate the Pope.

The artistic value of the tomb at Assisi was underrated by the students of the last generation, like many other sculptures of this period and of the Trecento. Ch. Perkins (1883)¹⁸ attributed it to a pupil of Nicolo Pisano, perhaps to Lapo (whose works have been recognized recently by C. Gnudi showing an entirely different personality). H. Thode (1904) believed it to be executed by a local sculptor of second or third rank. A. Venturi (1906) recognized in it a follower of the Cosmati, who exaggerated greatly the movement of the figures. K. Frey (1911) attributed it to an insignificant pupil of Arnolfo di Cambio or Giovanni Cosma. B. Kleinschmidt¹⁹ goes quite amiss in attributing the Assisi tomb to the master of the tomb of Benedict XI in Perugia (which is half a century later and closely related to Lorenzo Maetani). I. B. Supino alone, in his book on the Basilica of S. Francesco in Assisi, goes more into details but his deductions are very strange indeed. As there is documentary evidence that the tomb was restored in 1702 (only in the lower section however, as it is specifically mentioned), he believes that the original composition has been changed completely and some of the figures misplaced in recent times; according to his view some parts of the tomb had been executed by a French sculptor of the thirteenth century, another part by an Italian sculptor of the Trecento. This is certainly incorrect. The monument is altogether well preserved and is

obviously produced in one workshop, as a careful inspection shows. Damaged is the lower base of the seat upon which the Virgin is enthroned, that is in the left corner near the head of the lion. That this brick construction is original is proved by the fact that on the front, remains of a decorative pattern in fresco are still visible. Damaged are, besides, some of the apostle statuettes on the lower section; more than half are missing.

That the asymmetrical arrangement of the Madonna and the Emperor on the lion is original we learn from the earliest detailed description of the monument, which Frate Ludovico da Pietralunga (1580) gives in the *Libro della Sepoltura*. After describing the death chamber with the two curtain-holding angels he says, "In the part above the dead Queen [he believed the deceased to be the Queen of Cyprus] is the main figure of the sitting Madonna; to her right and somewhat lower is a Queen sitting upon a lion. Below the death chamber are the twelve apostles about one cubic foot in height." This corresponds to the present position of the two main figures above the death chamber.

From the different opinions expressed by art scholars (to which the recent one of E. Carli should be added, who calls the tomb "un opera di evidentissimi caratteri francesizzanti"),²⁰ one point becomes clearly evident, namely, that the sculptor who created it underwent influences from various sides, a fact which does not speak against his originality. The Gothic framework and the death chamber with the two angels concurs with the scheme of tomb monuments developed by the Cosmati. The characteristic mosaic work of the Cosmati tombs is missing (the wall behind the lying figure and of the upper section may have had originally some such decoration?), but the tendency to give color to the composition is visible in the use of dark red marble stripes on the base of the tomb and the corresponding touch of dark red paint on the seat of the Madonna.

Stronger, however, than the Cosmati influence is that of Arnolfo di Cambio, who had finished his De Braye tomb in Orvieto just a year or so before our artist worked in Assisi. The latter must have seen Arnolfo's monument or some of his other works in Viterbo or Rome. We are definitely reminded of him in the style of the folds of the linen upon which the deceased rests, and of the curtains held by the angels, as well as in the design of the recessed niches between the small pillars on the base of the tomb.²¹ The temperament of our sculptor is, however, very different from Arnolfo's. He has nothing of the great Florentine's architectonic severity or compactness of forms, but



Fig. 14. Detail of Figure 1: Angel



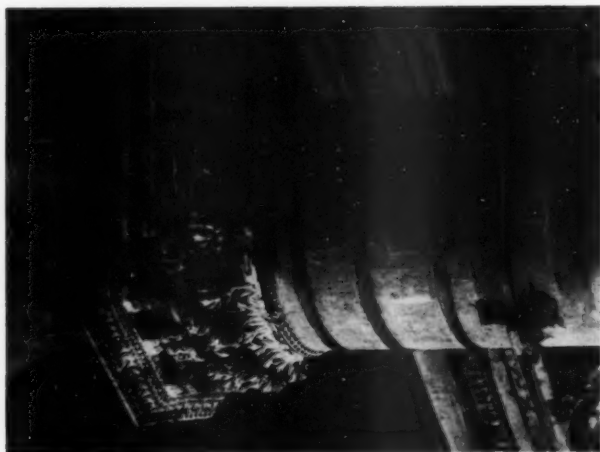
*Fig. 15. Marble Bust
Siena, Calbedra*



*Fig. 16. Capital
Orvieto, Cathedral*



*Fig. 17. Relief from Bourges Cathedral:
Pilate and the Servant
Paris, Louvre*



*Fig. 18. Capital
Orvieto, Cathedral*

is inclined towards a looser pictorial treatment in sculpture (see for instance the Bernini-like openings of the drapery under the left arm of the right angel) and likes to give his figures an intense swinging movement, unlike Arnolfo's quiet and solid poses. At a period when a definite scheme of composition for the tomb monument was being adopted by the Italian sculptors, he creates his own unique design with a disposition of the figures in the upper section of the monument and with the turning, almost dancing, poses of the curtain-holding angels entirely foreign to any other monument of this time.

The third, the French influence which some of the students have touched upon, is most obvious in the Emperor sitting with his legs crossed and in the Virgin, whose pose with the dressed Child standing upon her knee can be found in many French Madonna statues of the latter part of the thirteenth century. The best known are the figures with crossed legs at Rheims and at Freiburg. But they belong to a slightly later date than the Assisi tomb while a figure in high relief from Bourges Cathedral (Fig. 17) belongs to exactly the same period, that is to the last quarter of the thirteenth century.²² I believe that this relief and the three other reliefs belonging to the same series and now exhibited in the Louvre were the prototypes for our sculptor, as not only is the motif of the sitting figure similar here, but so also is the drapery of certain of the standing statues, with the tube-like folds falling straight down between the legs, which we noticed in the apostle statuettes of the Assisi tomb. This similarity is so striking that we are perhaps not wrong in believing that Bourges was the place where our sculptor stayed about 1280.

In spite of these influences, which can be observed in the style of the tomb of Philippe de Courtenay, we believe that its creator (whom we identify with the sculptor of the architrave and capitals in Orvieto Cathedral (Figs. 16 and 18) and with the one of the four busts in Siena) is a great and original master who—if it is Ramo di Paganello—deserved fully the praise accorded him by his contemporaries.

¹ A. Schmarsow, *Festschrift zu Ehren des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 1897; *Italianische Kunst im Zeitalter Dantes*, 1928; *Ramo di Paganello*, Siena, 1928.

² Enzo Carli, *Le Sculture del Duomo di Orvieto*, 1947.

³ Even if they were begun a few years before, as Carli tries to prove. I believe that Carli came much nearer to the solution of the Ramo problem in an earlier publication (*Sculture del Duomo di Siena*, 1941) as we shall see in the course of the present article.

⁴ G. de Francovich, *Bollettino d'Arte*, January, 1928, No. 7; and before him K. Frey in *Vasari Edition*, 1911, I, 843.

⁵ G. Milanesi, *Documenti per la Storia dell'arte Senese*, I, 1834. L. Fumi, *Il Duomo di Orvieto*, 1891, p. 57; A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte Italiana*, 1906, IV, 249; *Giovanni Pisano*, 1927, I, 6; Frey, *Vasari Edition*, 1911, I, 843.

⁶ In the German edition of Venturi's *Giovanni Pisano*, I, 6, the word "nepote" is wrongly translated as "enkel" (grandson).

⁷ Fumi, *op. cit.*, pp. 309 and 310.

⁸ St. Clair Baddeley, *Robert the Wise*, London, 1897, p. 74.

⁹ G. Swarzenski, *Nicola Pisano*, 1926, p. 52. Possibly he is identical with the Rosso padellaio who in 1264 cast the knob on the dome of Siena Cathedral (Thieme-Becker, XXIX, 51).

¹⁰ The photographs of the apostle statuettes do not show this clearly enough.

¹¹ A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte Italiana*, IV, 70.

¹² R. Davidsohn, *Geschichte von Florenz*, 1912, III, 13.

¹³ E. Carli, *Sculture del Duomo di Siena*, 1941, pp. 33-37 (*Quattro busti inediti*).

¹⁴ Carli compares the two lions with the one on the staircase of the pulpit in the Pisan Baptistry which is, according to P. Bacci, a work of Lupo di Francesco, and with the one on the tomb of Philippe de Courtenay in Assisi. While the first one is of much later date (1320), he is undoubtedly right in recognizing a similar style in the lion of the Assisi tomb.

¹⁵ G. Gerola, "Chi è il sovrano sepolto in S. Francesco d'Assisi," *Dedalo*, 1927-28.

¹⁶ I. B. Supino, *Basilica di S. Francesco d'Assisi*, 1924, p. 68.

¹⁷ H. Thode, *Franz von Assisi und die Anfänge der Renaissance*, 1904, p. 297.

¹⁸ Charles C. Perkins, *Handbook of Italian Sculptors*, New York, 1883.

¹⁹ B. Kleinschmidt, *Die Basilica S. Francesco in Assisi*, Berlin, 1926.

²⁰ E. Carli, *Sculture del Duomo di Siena*, p. 37.

²¹ Very different from Arnolfo are the delicately executed ornaments with fantastic birds above the small niches next to the apostle statuettes. They are in style closely related to the exquisitely carved first capitals in Orvieto Cathedral. The subtle treatment of the marble may explain the expression used in the first document relating to Ramo where he is called "de bonis . . . subtilioribus de mundo."

²² Michèle Beaulieu, "Sculptures du Moyen âge" *Encyclopédie Photographique de l'art* (Louvre), 1948, pl. 74.

THE BAUHAUS PAINTERS AND THE NEW STYLE-EPOCH

By JOHN ANTHONY THWAITES

FOR the Nazis, destruction of the Bauhaus at Dessau was an objective. Not just the closing of the school but the uprooting of its influence. Yet up to the war that influence could still be seen in Germany in the things of every day—show-windows for example. The school had lasted but ten years yet it took twice as long to quite destroy its work, and meanwhile its influence had spread across the world. How could a simple school of architecture and industrial design make such a world impression? There were modern architects greater than Gropius, designers as good as those of the Bauhaus, in other places and in other countries. There were other schools advanced in their ideas. But it was from Weimar and Dessau that the effect came.

For the first time since the end of the Baroque, creative genius in the arts was being yoked to social ends after the first World War. This was happening in Paris, Berlin, Amsterdam. It was no longer a question of pioneers like Frank Lloyd Wright in a hostile environment. A new style-epoch was on the way. This Gropius understood. He put the stress above all on the social and the practical. His students must take apprenticeship exams like a skilled artisan. There was no talk of "art"—for long sculpture and painting were not taught as such. But not only was Gropius an artist on his own, he had with him two of those men who, if it is greatness to press the frontiers of art further than they had ever been before, were among the greatest of their time: Paul Klee and Wassily Kandinsky.

The other two geniuses of the *Blaue Reiter* group, Macke and Marc, had fallen in the War before they ever reached maturity. To replace them Gropius brought in Oskar Schlemmer and Lyonel Feininger. Behind the four he ranged artist-teachers like Albers, Moholy-Nagy and the sculptor Gerhard Marcks for pottery. The school produced more teachers from its ranks like Herbert Bayer and the lesser-known Muche, Schreyer, Arndt. In the recent exhibition "Painters at the Bauhaus" at the Haus der Kunst in Munich, these were shown. Dr. Ludwig Grote, who assembled it, had been director of the Dessau Museum in Bauhaus days and a friend of the main figures. He presented the show as the next step from his *Blaue Reiter* of 1949, the next phase in an historical

development. What is the ground for this? What, indeed, is the excuse for extracting painting from the Bauhaus complex as a whole?

Perhaps because the only modern school in Europe has been the school of Paris, perhaps from their own position Klee and Kandinsky have tended to be seen as isolated figures. But artists are rarely isolated in this sense. Klee at the Bauhaus was in the full bewildering genius of his middle period; but the *Blaue Reiter* elements are working themselves out. The influence of Delaunay, primary colors in round, rhythmic bands, is sometimes curiously direct (*Childhood of the Iris*, 1927). Some of the greatest pictures are developments of the Kaiouran style Klee had worked out with Macke (*Main Road and Side Roads*, 1929). And the gleaming *Snow Birds* (1927) is a Klee creation from the world of Marc (Fig. 6).

Then, too, Klee's interaction with the other Bauhaus masters is continuous. Architectural motives show his response to Feininger's translucencies (*Four Towers*; *Fortress II*, 1923). A study of movement-form (*Dancing Couple*, 1928) is indebted to the static Schlemmer. As to the interaction with Kandinsky here, twice in the exhibition their motives are virtually identical—with what a different working-out (*Quadruple Three-Time* and *White on Black*, 1930; *Lantern Festival*, 1923 and *Curve of Points*, 1927, Figs. 1-4).

The thing in Klee which gives sense to his borrowings, unity to his variety and distance to his range is the *conceptual*. You have it in his nature studies (*Landscape with Agaves*, 1927), tiny landscapes (*Landscape*, 1919) and the impressionist effects (*Northern Garden in Flower*, 1928). He makes one know rationally plant fibers which one could not see. And he provokes perceptually an interaction of the senses giving one the perfume in one's nostrils and on one's face the coolness of the air. Klee gets inside nature and re-conceives it, as it were. In the same way people, animals and scenes are conceived out of a rhythmic arabesque of line (*Child's Portrait in Red*, 1919; *The Snow Birds*; *Girl-Quake*, 1923). They are not abstract for they are not derived from visual appearances at all. They are an essence of the experience of life.

It was Klee's conceptualism which made it possible for him to bring in the factors such as time and growth, which had never been expressed in visual form (*Growth of Night Plants*, 1922; *Time and the Plants*, 1927). The concepts which usually belong to poetry, music, science and philosophy become available to visual art. Human psychology can be visually conceived with a directness never possible before. A picture like *The Light and Other Things* keeps an unbelievable simplicity. Yet it refertilizes visual form with spiritual

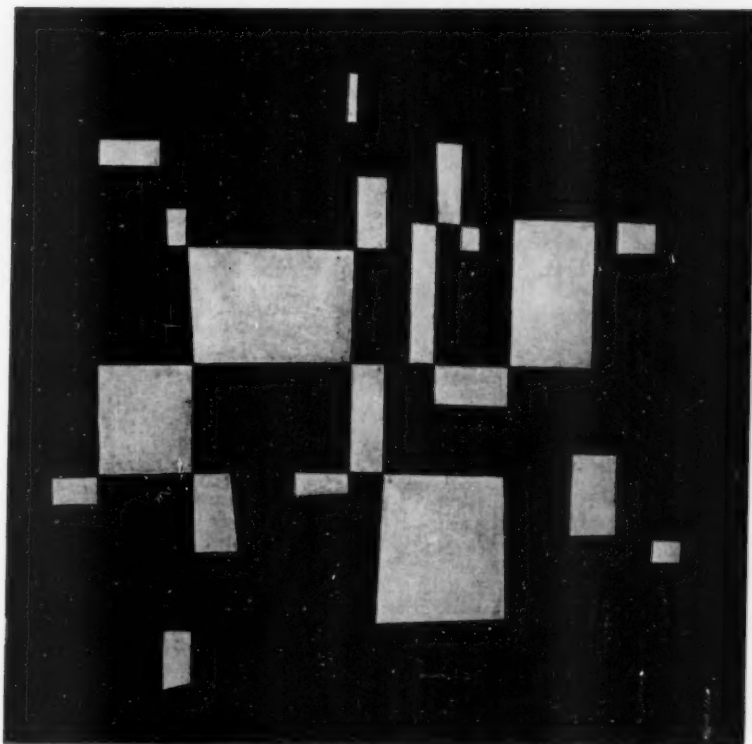


Fig. 1. WASSILY KANDINSKY, *White on Black*

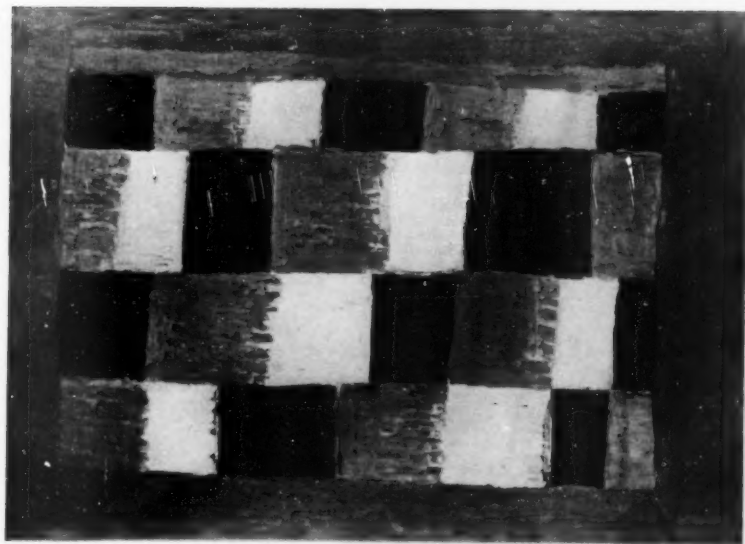
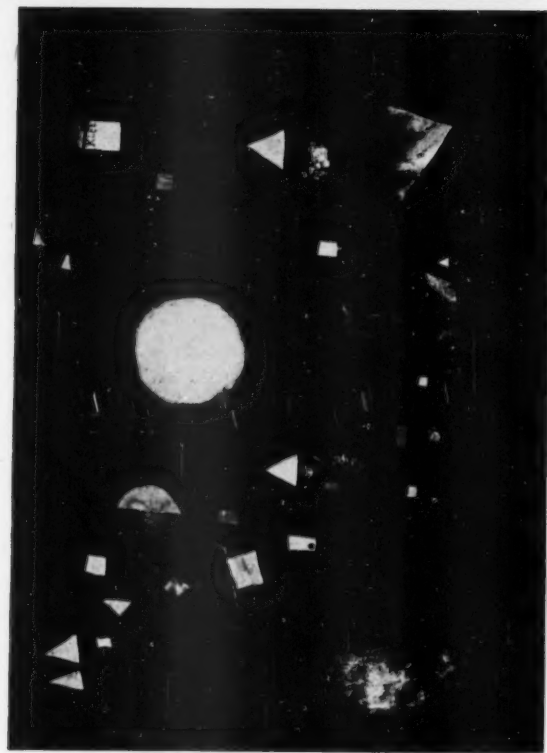
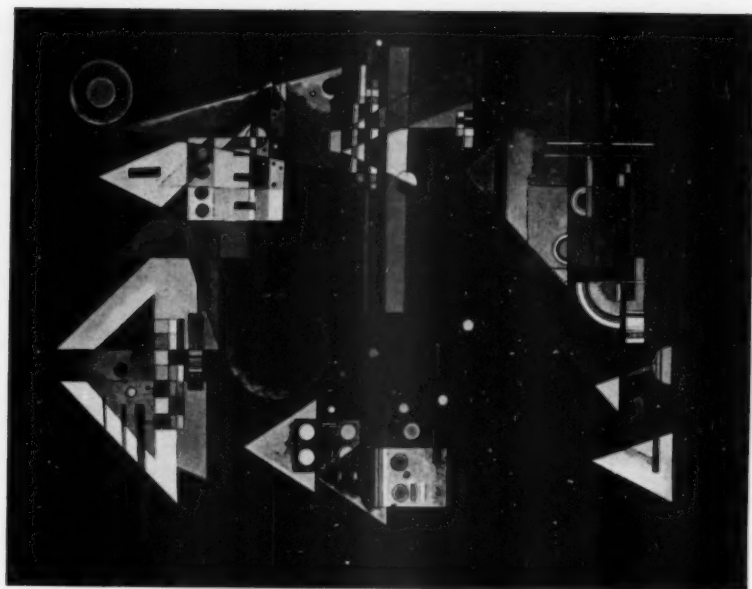


Fig. 2. PAUL KLEE, *Quadruple Three-Time*



*Fig. 3. PAUL KLEE, **Lantern Festival***



*Fig. 4. WASSILY KANDINSKY, **Curve of Points***

life as never since the ending of religious art. It is here that Kandinsky is such a perfect complement to Klee. As Grohmann first pointed out,¹ only as an Asiatic painter is he understandable. And Dr. Grote demonstrated in the *Blaue Reiter* exhibition that Kandinsky entered European art via the *Jugendstil*, the *Art Nouveau* of the early century.² Because they confused creation or organic forms with imitation of organic nature, the artists of the *Jugendstil* only added to the horrors of the nineteenth century. But Kandinsky could make the distinction since, by a trick of inheritance, he had in him the Oriental sense of ornament. In the Bauhaus period the dramatic, dynamic, abstract-expressionist elements of the *Blaue Reiter* have disappeared. Probably as a result of his war-and-revolution years in Russia, the folk-art influence is strong again (e.g. the *Curve of Points*); and the gold ground of the ikons comes shimmering through as well (*Sickle*, 1926). But the characteristics are those bundles of lines, the curves like elongated commas, the circles with their nebulae, repeated curves and wavy borders, groups of geometric figures. Here ornament comes into its own.

This has generally been misunderstood, especially by those who imitate. If one allows oneself to take these symmetrical borders and these deliberate moons as decoration, one gets the trash of Rudolph Bauer. They must be "read" like a secret language, as the ornament of the Mohammedans, the Celts, Central America or the European Middle Ages must be. One's eye must instrumentalize from this visual score, must play with the counters and the repetitions like a gymnast on his bars. Then one's whole being flows into their rhythms—their cosmic rhythms if you like it so—and one is lifted as on some celestial aeroplane, so that all else grows very small and far away.

The color corresponds to this. Taken as the abstraction of a natural harmony — like Braque — it is cold, thin, unconvincing. The tones seem put together in an arbitrary way. But once seen as color rhythm, existing in its own right and counterpointed to the line, it functions just as in the Japanese (*A Centre*, 1924; *Floating*, 1932). Which does not prevent the evocation of a nature-mood, not by a naturalistic scale but by the use of a color-dominant and associated forms (*Light Green*, 1923, Fig. 5).

We said that Kandinsky and Klee were complementary. A whole series of Kandinsky's gouaches, with simplified closed forms and in a spray technique, have motives which might be taken out of Klee (*Inwards*, 1928; *Upright*, 1930; *Deepened Arc*, 1932). Yet again the effect is completely different. Perhaps the relationship can best be seen where, as we said, the motive is

nearly identical in both, as in Klee's *Lantern Festival* and Kandinsky's *Curve of Points*. In the first a half-circle of orange, green and golden-yellow forms, circular and angular, swim clear and luminous out of the warm black ground. In the second, a half-circle of blue, red, green and golden-yellow forms, circular and angular, stand sharp and concrete on a clean black ground. There is nothing literary about the Klee—for this period an abstract composition. Nor is the Kandinsky inhuman, for as we saw, it is full of the gaiety of Slav folk art. The first is a concept taking form out of the rhythms of the composition and becoming visual poetry. The second is a formal concept coming into life, building up an architectural ornament. The first moves towards the universal; the second derives from it.

When an art tradition is developed and integrated to contain and reconcile such opposites, it is on its way to universality. As Kandinsky saw from the beginning, this has nothing to do with personal style (Baroque in the wider sense reconciled Rembrandt and Poussin). On the contrary, it is the beginning of a style-epoch, and its expansive power must be proportionate. The third member of the Bauhaus quadrumvirate was one of the chief vessels of this power. Oskar Schlemmer modestly called himself "a graphics man"; and indeed, when one sees such a concentration of his oils the impression is not first-rate. The color range—inevitable blues and sandy browns—is so restricted as to be monotonous. Nor are the color tensions equal to those of line, which tends to dry out the surfaces. The form problems, exciting as they are, seem like so many fragments on the way to a new monumental composition not achieved. Yet out of them emerge the principles which made Schlemmer such an influence on graphics, on stage design and choreography and on the "revolution of the object." And these principles circulate always about the same problem: the figure in space.

As Wolfgang Paalen³ and Siegfried Giedion⁴ have shown, art runs parallel to other events of the mind. And around the turn of the century a mental event occurred which was the most important for five hundred years. Man ceased to be the center of the universe. The Renaissance system was at an end; and in art or thought anthropocentrism was over. The artists of the *Blaue Reiter* were aware of this⁵ as soon as Appollinaire and the Paris group.⁶ Kandinsky made the break-through into abstract art; Picasso created Cubist painting; Kokoschka resolved the human being into its fears and drives and complexes; all this before the first World War. The deified man of Michelangelo was gone; but as time went on another took his place. Léger and the

early Gleizes in Paris; Schlemmer, Baumeister and Meier-Amden in Germany, restated the human figure in terms of functions and environment: sport, machines and architectural space.

In Paris this was baptised *style mécanique* and condemned as "inhuman." There are still those—witness Sir Kenneth Clark⁷—who talk of Léger's "sense of life" as having been in conflict with this style. True, along with godlike man erotic woman had disappeared, the hardest thing to bear. But in fact these artists, with their "sense of life," were trying to re-situate mankind in a universe grown vast and hostile. Schlemmer's people feel the axis of the earth between their feet and repeat it from hip to hip, shoulder to shoulder, ear to ear. Their heads are broad to sense the space behind. In their gestures, calm and powerful, you can feel the rhythm of their breath. The lack of individual difference is not "inhuman" either. Like the way their simple body-forms echo and interlock, their likeness gives them their common humanity, the social force (*Group of 14 in Imaginary Architecture*, 1930, Fig. 7). The individual hero is no more in place—save as Dictator.

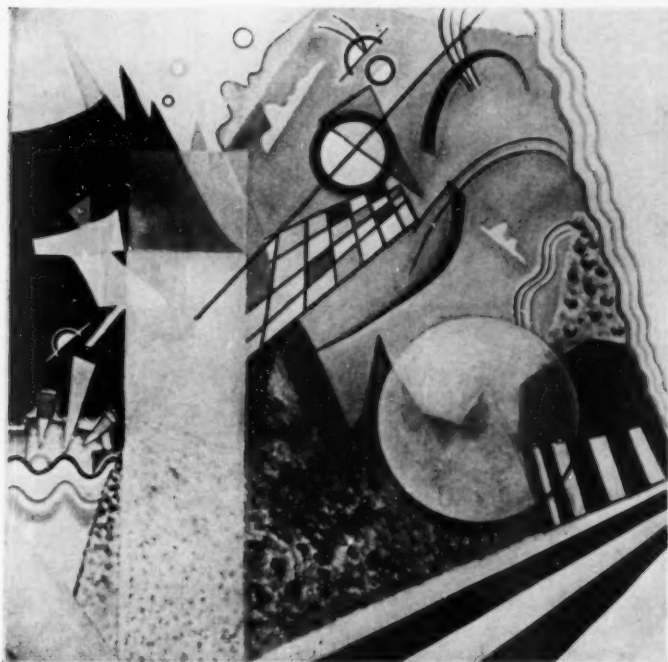
Working out from the recreated figure, Schlemmer recreated space. Renaissance perspective, debased by Naturalism, had been destroyed by the space-time concepts expressed in Cubism and in Abstract art.⁴ Simultaneously subjective space, produced by the unconscious forces of the early century, had come with Chirico and the Surrealists. By an extraordinary creative effort, Schlemmer fused the concepts, Cubist and Surrealist, to make, for the first time since Uccello, a new architectural space. Like the break between the Primitives and the Renaissance, this intuition was not only mathematical, it derived from the collective unconscious (*At Table*, 1923, Fig. 8).

It was Schlemmer's tragedy that, unlike Uccello and Piero della Francesca, he was not painter enough to make the monumental art his own discoveries implied. But looking at the building of Marcel Breuer or Mies van der Rohe one sees what Schlemmer had to do with inner-architectural space. On acting space, the stage, his influence was even more direct; and costume and choreography are still different because of his work. Most important though, even if most subtle, is the part he played in the absorption of the machine. In their reaction from the nineteenth century, the Bauhaus functionalists like Hannes Meyer thought that the machine could dictate its own form and those of its products too. Schlemmer had sought out the forms of *l'homme machine*, the meeting point of abstract and representational, intuitive and mathematical, organic and functional. Gently, steadily, his forms exercised their influence.

They became the creative stock on which designers drew. In bringing the new functions of the technological into the realm of human sensibility, they played the greatest part in founding the style-epoch.

The last of the big four was also one of the few Americans, like West and Whistler, to have an influence on European art. Because Feininger came as a youth and lived past middle age in Germany, he was identified with German art. The more so, perhaps, that his development was in a way so similar to Marc: the romantic expressionist going into what has been unkindly called "sentimental Cubism" under the influence of Delaunay. But the vision is formed young—and Feininger seems like an American. His sense of scale, his capacity to break down a movement into structural elements, those anonymous surfaces of his which interpenetrate, and above all the quality of light: these have the American vision. And there are specific likenesses as well. In his townscapes Feininger uses exactly the device of tension lines from buildings out into the air which Demuth developed a few years earlier (*The Market Church in Halle*, 1929, Fig. 9). Again, as Sybil Moholy-Nagy has pointed out, Feininger's long series of sailing boats show the same way of seeing as Marin, with his "simultaneous vision."⁸ There is a similar affinity in Feininger's woodcuts and his water colors with Marin's etchings and water colors of Manhattan, though here of course there is the common parentage in Delaunay. Another thing common to Marin and Feininger is that neither is at his best in oil. Only Feininger was not aware of it in the Bauhaus period. But even in the best of his architecture paintings and his boats as well, there is a slickness in his paint, a sweetness in his color, which disturb. Whereas the least successful have the sickly romantic coloring of a calendar piece (*Bird-clouds*, 1925). When he turns to pen and wash this disappears and his line has the delicate strength of the Japanese in setting up a structural microcosm. His wash builds fine translucent walls of color which the oil will never altogether do. In the fugitive turn of a sail there is a classic permanence and any flimsiness has disappeared (*Barque Putting to Sea*, 1921, Fig. 10).

Feininger's very limitations, though, come from the attempt at a new pictorial conception, complementary to that of his Bauhaus colleagues. He returns to color-as-light, but not in the impressionistic way. For this light is another architecture, and the architecture, space. He resolves the massive medieval buildings into components in geometric tension. Their heavy stillness becomes movement too, quivering like the long rays of the sun through a high window. This brought Feininger from the side of vision to the same point where the



*Fig. 5. WASSILY KANDINSKY, **Light Green**
New York, Guggenheim Foundation*



*Fig. 6. PAUL KLEE, **The Snow Birds***

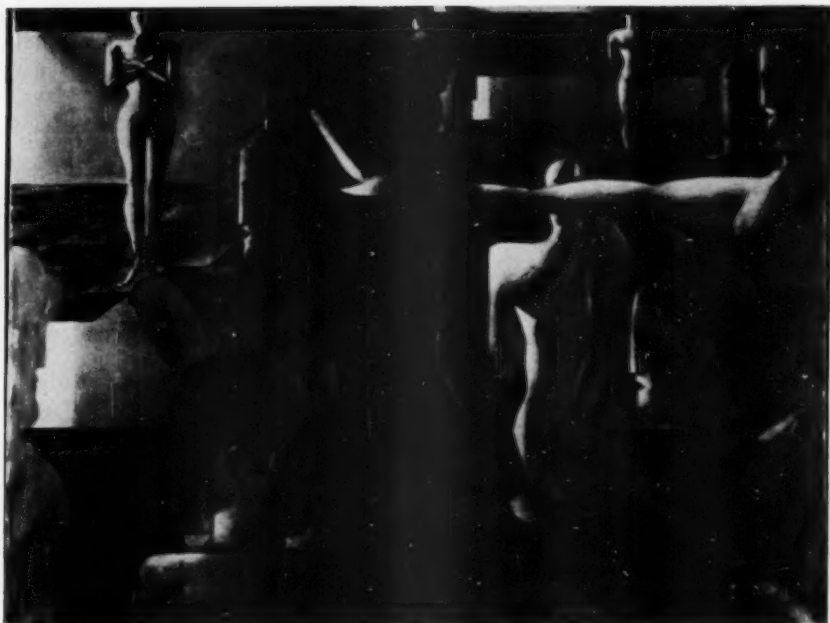


Fig. 7. OSKAR SCHLEMMER, Group of Fourteen in Imaginary Architecture



Fig. 8. OSKAR SCHLEMMER, At Table

architects had come from engineering. Their building was no longer mass but volume-in-space; steel structure with its curtain-walls. It was no longer inert but an affair of strain and counterstrain, conflicting movements caught at a still point. Here Feininger was playing the same part in Germany as Mondrian in Holland and Léger in France. He humanized the engineering and helped to turn it into an architectural style. His romanticism suited something in the German temperament—and it may be that some of the sentimental outbreaks of "expressionistic" building can be traced to him. Still, in general his influence worked in a way complementary to that of Schlemmer.

Cultural like economic history has now and then been formed by the brutalities of politics. French silk was brought to England by the Huguenots and Bohemian glass has lately come to Germany with the refugees from the Sudetenland. Just so the movement which began in Munich in the nineteenth-hundreds was to be transferred by persecution to America. And the men responsible were Joseph Albers, Herbert Bayer and Moholy-Nagy, along with the designers, architects and photographers. These three men all belong to the second generation of the Bauhaus influence, the movement out from the original creators of the forms: Albers to education; Bayer to display and to publicity; Moholy to industrial design. One does not expect them to equal the big four as picture makers. The interest is far more what they carried over as an influence.

Albers, the eldest of the three, in Bauhaus times made glass pictures alone. They were not glass paintings at all but constructions pieced together out of colored parts. One type, like Schwitters' *Merzbilder*, used odds and ends of bottle-base and shard. The other was very precise, linear and constructivist in its design. The first kinds are more ambitious than they seem, for with audacity they make the most improbable material serve the ends of art: part of the "spiritualization of matter," the projection into material of human feeling, which comes from the *Blaue Reiter*. And to anyone who watched Albers' classes at Black Mountain College it explains his influence. The least root which his students picked up in the forest, the oddest juxtaposition of most casual objects, under his hands and voice took on a magical significance. The sterilizing separation of matter and spirit was at an end. Albers' other pictures escape being decoration, but their dazzle patterns often seem too like a trick. Still, with it all they have a simple beauty and repose in their architectural discipline.

Moholy-Nagy was quite inadequately shown in the Munich exhibition. The photograms, in fact, were more interesting than the painting. But it is also

true that as a productive artist his best time was later, in America. As he used jokingly to say himself, Moholy became a constructivist because he passed his youth in southern Hungary and only then discovered the world of the machine. To the end—the much too early end—he was amorous of technology; but in the Bauhaus time it still intoxicated him too much. Most of his constructions, as Herbert Read has said,⁹ were “non-functioning machines.” But this was a way, another complementary one to Schlemmer’s way, towards absorption of the technological; and with it went the esthetic transformation, not of the old materials (as in Albers) but of the new synthetic ones. One feels it coming in these early oils. A stricter constructivism than Kandinsky’s allowed him no element of illusion; yet with divided surfaces of paint he was not satisfied, as was his much-admired Mondrian. He seems already to be straining towards those translucent plastics which were to give him, as it were, a new dimension. And in the photograms he had already created a new minor branch of art.

Emigration to the United States was fortunate. Moholy-Nagy found there a youth to which technology was second nature, which was not suspicious of it as the Europeans are. And he found a country split between this modern technology and a visual culture largely borrowed from the European past. The technological humanism of his work had found its proper place. He showed the way in everything from Abstract art to the design of fountain pens. The style-epoch, which in Europe faltered between war and chaos and cultural reaction, had at least a chance of coming into being in America.

No one has played a greater part in this than the last and youngest of the Bauhaus masters, Herbert Bayer. As a picture-maker Bayer was even further from full power in Bauhaus days. But the germs are there—and very important germs they are. Schlemmer had synthesized the space conceptions of the Cubists and Surrealists. Bayer did not stop with space but went on to the “irrational object.” His pseudo-objects are as dry and formal as a Juan Gris, his textures plastic as Cubist *collage*. But by juxtaposition, by the paradoxes of their space relation, they generate irrational atmosphere. Technology comes in again to be transformed, less as an object of intuitive reflection than as of subjective fantasy.

One need not agree with all the claims which have been made for Bayer to see that what was here preparing would strike deep. The great unconscious forces of the early century are coming into consciousness today and taking form. Art in the last ten years has shown a sort of synthesis of surreal and abstract tendencies. Of this general synthesis Bayer was one of the prophets.

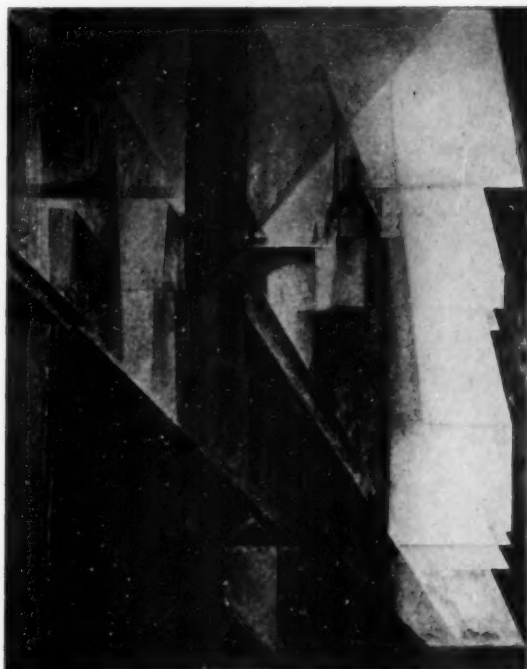


Fig. 9. LYONEL FEININGER, *The Market Church in Halle*

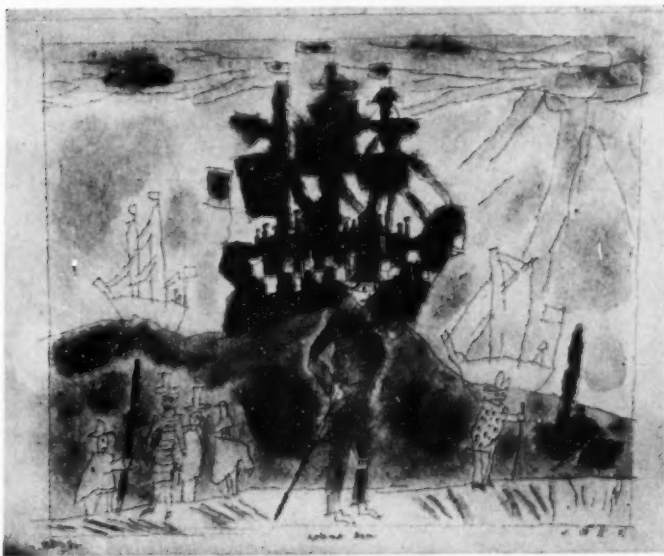


Fig. 10. LYONEL FEININGER, *Barque Putting to Sea*

He has not so much made great discoveries as fused those of others in a social form. He is the industrial chemist of art rather than the pure researcher. But through his posters, constructions for display, layouts, photograms, advertisements, the conscious level of his own time may well be modified. The new forces of the century, explosive as they are, can be absorbed in human life if they can be made a part of the cultural consciousness. This synthesis in a new culture pattern was perhaps the main idea behind the *Blaue Reiter* and the Bauhaus too. For the present its best chance of development seems to lie in the United States.

¹ Will Grohmann, "Wassily Kandinsky," ed. *Cahiers d'Art*.

² Cf. Thwaites, "Blaue Reiter," *The Art Quarterly*, XIII (1950), 13-21.

³ Wolfgang Paalen, *Form and Sense*, Wittenborn.

⁴ Siegfried Giedion, *Time, Space and Architecture*.

⁵ *Blaue Reiter Almanach*, Munich, 1908.

⁶ Guillaume Apollinaire, *The Cubist Painters*, Wittenborn.

⁷ Sir Kenneth Clark, "Uccello and Modern Art" (Lecture).

⁸ Sybil Moholy-Nagy, "Contemporary Trends in American Art" (Lecture)

⁹ John Marin, "Letters to Alfred Stieglitz."

THE SYMBOLISM OF THE FOUR DIRECTIONS IN CHINESE ART

By HUGO MUNSTERBERG

AMONG the best known and most popular of ancient Chinese symbols are the four symbolic animals, or *Ssu Shên*, which represent the four cardinal points of the compass. They are especially common on Han period mirrors (221 B.C.-A.D. 220) like the fine example in the Nelson Gallery in Kansas City (Fig. 1). As Professor Cammann has recently demonstrated so convincingly,¹ the design of the mirror as a whole is a magic diagram representing the Han man's view of the cosmos with the Four Directions symbolized by the four animals: the tiger, the bird, the dragon and the tortoise combined with the snake. In this connection the White Tiger is looked upon as a symbol of the West as well as of autumn, the direction of the setting sun, the Dark Valley and the labors of the autumn; the Vermilion Bird as a symbol of the South, summer, the sun in the sky, the longest day and the limit of the shadow; the Green Dragon as the East, spring, the rising sun and the Bright Valley; and the Tortoise, which is also called the Black or Sombre Warrior, as a symbol of the North, winter, the Sombre Capital and the shortest day.² Generally speaking, the quarters and the colors were also associated in the Chinese mind with different elements: the North, rainy and dark, corresponds to the black water; the South, warm and bright, corresponds to red fire; the East, greenish-blue when the sun rises, corresponds to green wood; and the West, white when the sun sets, answers to white metal.³ In the Nelson Gallery mirror there are several interesting additions to this general scheme. The dragon holds a sun disk containing a bird, which indicates that he is a *Yang* animal connected with the light and male forces, while the tiger holds a moon with a frog in it, indication that he is linked with the *Yin*, or dark and female, forces. A unicorn is placed next to the tiger and it is interesting to note that in later representations the unicorn often replaces the tiger as a symbol of the West.

This type of symbolism was very popular in China during the later Han, the Six Dynasties, the Sui and the T'ang periods, or roughly during the first millennium of our era. As Professor Yetts points out, no examples prior to the Han period have been found so far.⁴ A very fine mirror of this type from a later date is the Sui period one (A.D. 589-618) in the Nelson Gallery (Fig. 3),

in which the four animals can be seen more clearly than in the Han specimen because the design is simpler, omitting all the additional birds and beasts which tend to obscure the four animals in the Han examples. These mirrors unquestionably reflect the motif as it must have frequently appeared in the monumental arts of the periods, for magnificent examples of such representations in both sculpture and painting have come down to us. An outstanding example in the first medium is the Han relief on the grave pillars of the Shên family in Szechuan,⁵ while the second is best seen in the famous Yang-wên tomb near Pyông-yang in Korea, which dates from the end of the Six Dynasties period (A.D. 265-589).⁶

After the T'ang period (A.D. 618-907) this type of symbolism is no longer common; a very different symbolism for the Four Quarters had reached China from India during the Six Dynasties and prevails to the present day. In the Buddhist temples and monasteries we can find "in the hall nearest the entrance four menacing figures, two on each side of the hall, each of different color, and known collectively as the Four Heavenly Kings (*Ssu T'ien Wang*). Each is supposed to govern one of the continents which lie in the direction of the four points of the compass from Mt. Sumeru, the center of the universe."⁷ The most famous early representation of these guardians is not found in China proper but in Japan where they are known as the Shitenno and may be seen in the Kondo of the Horyuji monastery in Nara.⁸

The symbolism of the Four Directions, however, predates both the *Ssu Shên* and *Ssu T'ien Wang* for it is found in the bone inscriptions of the Shang period (circa 1550-1050 B.C.). Here the rulers of the (Four?) Quarters, the Western and Eastern Mother, as well as East and South, are already mentioned. Among the animals under consideration the Dragon Woman and the Snake Spirit also occur.⁹ Clearly, then, the symbolism is a very ancient one and must have been expressed in different ways during this early period.

There is an object, probably of Early Chou origin, in the collection of the Cleveland Museum of Art (Fig. 2), which might well be an early representation of the spirits of the Four Directions. It is a bronze cover consisting of a square base surmounted by four addorsed figures encircled in a ring, and attached to this ring is a loop handle. The four figures have large heads with square headdresses and feet but no bodies. The square base is clearly a representation of the earth, which from the most ancient times was regarded as being square in China, as one can see in the *T'sung*-shaped jades which were looked upon as symbols of the earth. The square headdresses may be

another earth symbol, so that it is more than likely that we are confronted with anthropomorphic representations of the Four Quarters. Surrounding these figures is the round disk, a symbol of heaven, for heaven was traditionally thought of as a circular disk such as the *Pi*-shaped jade. The handle is covered with S-shaped double spirals which resemble the ancient character for lightning,¹⁰ a symbol that occurs also on neolithic pottery jars.¹¹ Another symbol which is employed on the base and the body of the bronze is the spiral or thunder pattern, which with the S-shaped designs are associated with thunder and lightning and thereby storm, rain and fertility.

It is interesting to note that a very similar iconography occurs frequently in the art of the Navaho Indians who, in their sand paintings, use the square earth with figures on the sides and a rainbow above.¹² It would seem possible that the arch above the square earth in the Chinese work might also be thought of as a rainbow which, of course, would fit in well with the idea of lightning, thunder and fertility. However, such similarity in iconography should never be taken as a conclusive proof that the same symbol meant the same thing to people living in a different culture under different circumstances. As Professor Boas says, "The same kinds of tales are current over enormous areas, but the mythological use to which they are put is locally quite different."¹³ Yet whatever the relationship between the Navaho paintings and the Chinese bronzes may be, there can be no doubt that the underlying ideas of the bronze cover, the sand paintings and the Han mirrors are very similar for, in spite of being separated by thousands of years, all three are magic representations of the heaven, the earth and the deities of the Four Quarters.

There remains the question of how the Four Quarters were symbolized between the Early Chou and the Han periods. The available evidence seems to suggest that it was done through the repetition of four specimens of the same symbol rather than four different ones. Probably the clearest example is the late Chou one which Mr. John Cox recently brought to notice and which shows four trees in the four corners of a third century B.C. painting.¹⁴ The trees, represented in four different colors in keeping with the symbolical ideas, clearly stand for the Four Directions, and additional literary evidence exists to substantiate this interpretation. Other objects of this period, such as the bronze mirrors, show four mountains, indicated by the character *shan*, or mountain,¹⁵ and again there is a wealth of literary evidence to demonstrate that the sacred mountains were thought of in connection with the wor-

ship of the four quadrants. Other mirrors have four dragons¹⁶ or four birds,¹⁷ and still others a combination of these animals described by Professor Karlgren as bird-dragons.¹⁸ There are also mirrors on which the four dragons and four birds are shown side by side.¹⁹ Now both of these animals are believed to dwell in the sky and so they may be thought of as representations of the *Yang*, the bright forces of Heaven, in contrast to the center which in many of these mirrors is square and may thus be considered as a representation of the *Yin*, or earth forces. Since both the dragon and bird also occur among the four symbolical animals, the *Ssu Shên*, it is clear that they go back to much older sources.

All four of these animals are found in Chinese art from the earliest times, and at least two of them, the tiger and the tortoise, occur in prehistoric art. The tiger is found there in the form of a small stone amulet,²⁰ the tortoise on a pottery vessel,²¹ and the snake in connection with the human figure on the famous Pan Chan idol. All of them also appear together as early as the Shang period on the inside of the two *P'an*-shaped bronzes reported to be from Anyang (Fig. 4).²² The center of this design is the dragon, here apparently the most important of the four. He is surrounded by snakes, fishes and tigers and along the sides there is a procession of alternating tigers, fishes and birds. Although the animals are the same as on the Han mirrors, there is nothing in their arrangement which would suggest that they should be thought of here as symbols of the Four Quarters. In fact the larger size of the dragon and the repetition of the other animals would in no way permit such an interpretation.

The dragon is one of the most common symbols in Chinese art and has retained its popularity over thousands of years. From the earliest times it was looked upon as a sky symbol associated with clouds, rain and fertility, yet at the same time it is also associated with the royal house and the divine ancestors and, as such, must be looked upon as a fecundity symbol connected with many offspring and long life for the clan. It is associated with the royal house of Hsia, the first dynasty, and we are told that one of the ancestors of the Hsia transformed himself into a dragon in a Holy Place.²³ It was also believed that the genealogies of certain royal houses could be traced back to the union between *T'ien*, or Heaven, manifested as a dragon, and a female ancestor.²⁴ Other accounts tell of a great emperor being born after the queen stepped upon a dragon's footprint.²⁵

Since the altar of the royal ancestors stood to the east of the royal palace²⁶



*Fig. 1. Han Period Mirror
Kansas City, William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art*



*Fig. 2. Early Chou Period Bronze Cover
Cleveland Museum of Art*



*Fig. 3. Sui Period Mirror
Kansas City, William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art*

and the symbol of the royal ancestors was the dragon, whose form these often took, it was probably due to this fact that the East became associated with the dragon. Laufer points to this in his discussion of the jade emblem, *kuei*, which according to the Late Chou text, the *Chou Li*, served as a symbol of the East. "The Chou Li says that homage is rendered to the region of the East with the green tablet *kuei* . . . the commentaries to the Chou Li insist upon the jade emblem being pointed like a lance head, and remark that it symbolizes the spring (corresponding to the East) and the beginning growth of creation. It was in consequence a symbol of fertility indicating the awakening of nature in the spring, and therefore also green in color. And in its origin, as we pointed out also for other reasons, it was no doubt a phallic emblem."²⁷ We also know that such phallic emblems were found in China from prehistoric times on, and that the ancient character of *tsu*, ancestor, on the oracle bones and the archaic bronzes resembles a phallus.²⁸ Therefore, it would seem only logical to see the *kuei* in its origin as a phallic emblem placed by the ruler on the altar of the ancestral temple, which was located at the east of the royal palace. In later times when the religious ideas had changed, both the dragon and the *kuei* were still associated with the eastern quarter and used as symbols for the same, although the original meaning had been forgotten.

On the Han mirror in the Nelson Gallery the dragon held a sun with a bird in its claws. This without doubt is a representation of the sun bird believed to live in the sun and often represented as a sun symbol. As Hentze points out very convincingly, the sun is thought of as having feathers and is often represented in this way both in archaic inscriptions and on the designs of Shang bronzes.²⁹ Other Shang inscriptions show the bird with the sun rays radiating from its head,³⁰ or a bird combined with an oval-shaped disk very similar to the ancient character for sun.³¹ The vermilion color of the bird and its association with summer and the *Yang* forces would further reinforce this interpretation. There can be little doubt that the bird in its original meaning must be looked upon as a sun bird, an opinion with which Professor Yetts concurs.³² If the dragon and the bird are associated as *Yang* animals who dwell in the sky, the tortoise and the tiger are *Yin* animals associated with water, earth and darkness.

The tortoise is usually depicted with a snake, for the Chinese believed that it was always female and thought of the snake as its male partner. The earliest known example of this particular combination is found in a bronze

object executed in a Late Chou style, of which several copies are known.³³ Since one example is dated during the Han period,³⁴ it has been suggested that it really is a Han object made in an archaistic style. However, the iconography for the northern quarter is by no means always the same. On another mirror from the Han period (Fig. 5), the snake is seen with a man-shaped demon instead of the tortoise; on a Han brick in the Musée Guimet the tortoise is shown with a frog instead of a snake;³⁵ and in a model of a funeral chamber from the Six Dynasties period, the frog is represented without the tortoise.³⁶ And yet another animal is associated with the North: namely, the fish, which often appears with the tortoise, taking the place of the snake on the *P'an*-shaped vessels.³⁷ Laufer also reproduces an archaic jade in the shape of a *Huang*, the symbol of the North, which takes the form of a fish, while another *Huang*-shaped jade shows snake designs.³⁸

All of these animals, the tortoise, the snake, the frog and the fish, are water animals represented as such in the depiction of the kingdom of the water in the reliefs at Wu Liang tzu.³⁹ Here we find fish drawing the cart of the water deity, with the frogs and tortoises surrounding it and genii with fish tails. The association between the North, black, water and these animals is not chance but meaningful in terms of their association with this element from the most ancient times. The tortoise, or *kuei*, is looked upon as an attendant of the god of the waters⁴⁰ and the *Li Ki* stresses the connection between the tortoise and water by saying that when it rains, offerings of tortoise or fish are not appropriate.⁴¹ Clearly, then, the tortoise and fish are called upon to bring rain, an action which is not necessary if rain is in abundance. The frog, too, is associated with water and rain and since the moon was believed to be connected with water and was thought of as producing rain, popular tradition saw a frog in the moon⁴² as it was represented in the Nelson Gallery mirror.

It remains to be explained why the tortoise was known as the black warrior. The color black (really dark blue) is in many civilizations associated with water and quite naturally linked with the North, the region of darkness. In Chinese literature this association can be traced back at least to the beginning of the Late Chou period and may be even older.⁴³ The meaning of the warrior is more difficult to determine, though the late Eduard Chavannes relates a legend which he thought explained the origin of the term:

Hui occupe la place du centre parmi des sept constellations de la région du ciel symbolisée par la tortue. On donne souvent le nom guerrier sombre

à cette région du ciel; en effet une légende rapportée par le Seou chen ki raconte que le roi des démons se changea en une tortue que vainquit l'empereur sombre au temps de Tcheou, de la dynasty des Yu. Le nom du vainqueur est resté attaché à la région céleste que symbolise en réalité la torture, comme on peut le voir sur toutes les représentations graphiques.⁴⁴

Professor William Cohn, in his very excellent discussion of the four symbolic animals, gives another legend which attempts to explain the origin of the term:

In the annals of the Sung dynasty we read of a vision Hui Tsung is said to have had, and stone rubbings exist of the picture he is supposed to have made of his vision. In the year 1118 the Tortoise with the Snake appeared under thunder and lightning before the Emperor. He threw himself to the ground before the Deity and implored him to assume a human form. His wish was granted and the God emerged out of the Tortoise as a human being. It was no other than the Dark Emperor (Chên Wu).⁴⁵

There remains the tiger which is a *Yin* animal and is therefore often seen represented with the other *Yin* animals: the tortoise, the snake, the fish and the frog. On the Han mirror in the Nelson Gallery he is seen holding the moon with the frog in its claws; on the *P'an* referred to above,⁴⁶ the tiger appears with the tortoise and fish; while on a Late Chou appliqué in the Stoclet collection a tiger is shown with a snake emerging from his jaw.⁴⁷ But whereas the Black Warrior was associated with the North and water, winter and darkness, the tiger is associated with the West, earth, autumn and the setting sun. The first mention of his connection with the West is in the *Chou Li* which says that the jade emblem for the West was called *Hu* and took the shape of a tiger.⁴⁸ Various such jades in the form of a tiger are known⁴⁹ and the tiger, together with the dragon, is of course the most beloved and common of all Shang symbols. While the dragon in later times becomes the chief animal of the sky, the tiger is looked upon as the king of all the land animals and is also associated with the mountains. Already in Late Chou times the tiger was associated with the harvest festival, for we are told that during the *Pa Cha* festival people impersonated cats and leopards,⁵⁰ and the *Li Chi*, in a frequently cited passage, tells us that offerings were made to the tigers because they devoured the wild boars which destroyed the crops.⁵¹ Miss Waterbury has rightly linked the tiger with agriculture and sees the tiger as an earth deity,⁵² yet the evidence presented so far has not been conclusive. The passage in the *Li Chi* is little more than a vestige of an older time when the tiger was actually looked upon as an agricultural deity. To the more rationalistic people of the Late Chou period this belief

was no longer meaningful, for at that time the tiger was a symbol of the West rather than the chief agricultural deity.

Perhaps no conclusive proof will ever be forthcoming, but a fairly good indication of the original meaning of the symbolism may be found in two other passages of the *Li Chi* in which we are told, first, that "the king, for all the people, erected an altar to the spirits of the ground, called the grand altar, and one for himself, called the royal altar;" and the second, that "the site for the altar of the spirits of the land and grain was on the right; that for the ancestral temple on the left"—that is, to the west and the east of the royal palace.⁵³ Since the royal altar was in the east, corresponding to the direction symbolized by the dragon, an emblem of the royal ancestors, it is not surprising to find the West, the direction of the earth and the harvest altar, symbolized by the tiger, the animal associated with the autumn, the time of the harvest and with the earth. So the tiger was probably originally an agricultural deity and was worshiped on the western altar and later, when the beliefs changed, the association with the West remained although the original meaning had been lost. Only in popular legend, as is so often the case, this meaning was still preserved, for folklore linked the tiger with harvest, earth and mountains, vaguely indicating that in the popular subconscious the important place the tiger had once occupied was still known.

Considering the four symbolic animals as a group, we find that all of them had originally been associated with the fertility of the fields and of the race, for what the people of ancient China hoped and prayed for was always the same—that is, abundant harvests and many offspring. And what would bring them if not the earth, the rain and waters, and the sun, symbolized by the tiger, the tortoise, the bird, and the phallic emblem linked with the dragon? Thus, the origin of the four symbolical animals goes back to the ancient times when these creatures were looked upon as major deities, who magically supplied the Chinese people with the things which they not only wanted but also needed most.



*Fig. 4. Shang Period P'an Bronze
Peking, Private Collection*



*Fig. 5. Han Period Mirror
Kansas City, William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art*

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- ² Richard Wilhelm, *Chinese Civilization*, New York, 1929, p. 67.
- ³ Leon Wieger, *A History of Religious Beliefs and Philosophical Opinions in China*, Hsien-hsien, 1927, p. 62.
- ⁴ W. P. Yettis, *The Cull Chinese Bronzes*, London, 1939, p. 137.
- ⁵ V. Segalen, G. de Voisin and J. Lartigue, *Mission archéologique en Chine*, Paris, 1923, vol. I, pls. XV-XXVI.
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- ⁷ K. Latourette, *The Chinese, their History and Culture*, New York, 1934, II (2nd ed.), 152.
- ⁸ K. With, *Buddhistische Plastik in Japan*, Wien, 1922, pls. 45-53.
- ⁹ H. G. Creel, *Birth of China*, New York, 1937, pp. 180-81.
- ¹⁰ C. Hentze, *Objets Rituels, Croisances et Dieux de la Chine Antique et de l'Amerique*, Antwerp, 1936, figs. 210-211.
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- ¹² L. A. Armer, *Sand Painting of the Natabo Indians*, New York, 1931, p. 4.
- ¹³ F. Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, New York, 1938, p. 242.
- ¹⁴ John H. Cox in a lecture before the 1950 meeting of the Far Eastern Association.
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- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pls. 23, 27, 33-35.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pls. 31-32.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pl. 32 (D29).
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- ²² G. Ecker, "Notes on Early Bronzes," *Monumenta Serica*, II (Peking, 1936-37), 44-47, pls. XXIV-V; and S. Omura, *Shina bijutsushi chosoben*, Tokyo, 1915, pl. I.
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- ²⁶ *Li Ki*, vol. II, translated by J. Legge, *Sacred Books of the East*, Oxford, 1885, XXVIII, 235.
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- ³² Yettis, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-41.
- ³³ H. F. E. Visser, *Asiatic Art*, New York, 1948, pl. 32, no. 66, p. 145.
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- ⁴⁴ E. Chavannes, *Les Mémoires Historiques de Se-Ma Ts'ien*, Paris, 1895, I, 47, footnote 3.
- ⁴⁵ W. Cohn, "The Deities of the Four Cardinal Points in Chinese Art," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, London, 1940-41, pp. 71-72.
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SKETCHES BY LUCAS FRANCHOYS THE YOUNGER

By JULIUS S. HELD

ANYONE who has ever made it his business to determine the extent of the *œuvre* of a great master and who found himself compelled to exclude a work which others had accepted as genuine knows the fatal question: "If it is not by this artist, who else could have done it?" Sometimes when he admits that he does not know, he is regarded either as a charlatan or as a hypercritical sceptic.

The question is of course loaded and methodically unsound. A connoisseur of eighteenth century music may be able to say that a newly discovered minuet does not sound like a work of Mozart but he may be at a loss to name the right author—knowing full well that there were many gifted composers of the time who could have done a piece of that kind. In the figure arts, too, the great stars have always been surrounded by a number of minor lights who in their best moments were capable of producing works of competence and beauty. The constant process of historical elimination tends to make us forget minor masters and to add their best works to those of the few great artists who remain known. By research, and sometimes with the help of a benevolent accident, it may be possible to re-establish correct authorship. Indeed, the "sceptical" critic who tries to weed out these unwelcome intruders is perfectly aware of the fact that there is only one way to prove the correctness of his "negative" judgment: by finding the real author.

While the veneration of big names has affected the *œuvres* of most masters of the past, it is safe to say that few artists have been more inflated by wrong attributions than Rembrandt and Rubens. In Rembrandt's case this tendency has been checked to a certain extent because of the patient efforts of scholars who defined the individual styles of his pupils. The field of Rubens criticism, by contrast, appears to lie fallow. Gustav Glück and Rudolf Oldenbourg have made some beginnings and Ludwig Burchard has published occasionally some of the fruits of his incomparable knowledge. Count d'Arschot has recently started to unravel some problems of connoisseurship in Flemish painting. Yet the field is large and much needs still to be done.

The situation, to be sure, is more difficult than in the case of Rembrandt. We know that Rubens' method of production was less personal, that collabo-

ration between master and pupil was frequent and that Flemish painting in general, with its emphasis on a decorative style, renders more difficult the study of individual hands.¹ There are, in addition, physical difficulties. A great many of the chief works of Flemish seventeenth century masters are still in churches, often on dark walls and hung very high. Fortunately, the magnificent activity undertaken by the ACL (Achives Centrales Iconographiques d'Art National) in Brussels, under the energetic leadership of Paul Coremans, is about to forge a tool that will eventually make research in this field easier, and expanded knowledge and discoveries are to be expected. Indeed, the author is greatly indebted to the ACL for having made its files available to him and for having new photographs made for the purpose of this article. It is the first fruit of studies made during the summer of 1949, some of which, it is hoped, will be published in due course.

The Detroit Institute of Arts is one of the few places in this country where Rubens' art is well represented. The pièce de résistance is the large, resplendent picture of the *Meeting of David and Abigail*. Around it are grouped the handsome portrait of Rubens' brother *Philip Rubens*, the early, buxom goddess of health, *Hygeia*, and, as one of the happiest acquisitions of any museum in recent years, the brilliant sketch for the large equestrian portrait of *Archduke Ferdinand* in the Prado. Generally included in this distinguished series of works by the master is a small sketch showing *St. Michael in Combat with the Rebel Angels* (Fig. 1).

The attribution of this work to Rubens is of relatively recent date. It was sold in Budapest in 1917 as a work of Jan Boeckhorst² and apparently picked up Rubens' name on its way to America. It was published as Rubens' work by Walter Heil³ and by Ernst Scheyer⁴ and has figured in exhibitions of Rubens' work in Detroit⁵ and Los Angeles.⁶ In 1947 I expressed doubts about the authorship of Rubens and listed the sketch among works attributed to the master which I could not accept.⁷ Yet I had no idea who might have been its author, and my opinion, unsupported by any other evidence than style criticism, was no more than one man's word against that of others. Fortunately, the question can be resolved in a less subjective manner.

What puzzled me first in the sketch was the technique in which it had been painted. It was done in broad, bold strokes with deftly placed accents; yet these accents were applied with more concern for effect than for organic clarity, as may be seen from an examination of the hands and feet. The artist painted heavy strokes, suggestive of a clouded sky, around some of the figures,

thus creating curious spatial relationships and angular, jagged, almost capricious contours. There is a faint similarity between this manner of painting and that found in some works of such eighteenth century artists as Maulbertsch. Rubens' sketches, by contrast, are characterized by a judicious and subtle modeling which always clarifies spatial relationships and reveals, even in the most rapidly done examples, the artist's great knowledge of anatomical structure. The summary quality of the Detroit sketch would be unique in Rubens' work. Equally strange are the color scheme, with its pinkish over-all effect, and the elegant, ballet-like pose of St. Michael. This figure was evidently derived from Guido Reni's *St. Michael* in Sta. Maria della Concezione in Rome, and it would seem unlikely that Rubens should take over such a model, and with such an emphasis on its graceful, if somewhat theatrical, pose.

I owe to Dr. Ludwig Burchard the knowledge and the photograph of another sketch by the same hand (Fig. 2). It belongs to the Neuerburg Collection in Hamburg and shows St. Bernard of Clairvaux in one of the memorable triumphs of his career: when he conquered, by an impressive assertion of his ecclesiastical authority, William X of Aquitaine, a staunch supporter of Anacletus II, the anti-pope of Innocent II. The story is told in detail in Abbot Ernald's *Life of St. Bernard*.⁸ William had been first approached in 1131 by St. Bernard and he had apparently agreed to recognize Innocent II but had not kept his word. When Bernard went to a conference in Parthenay in 1134 he invited William to church where he was to say Mass for his conversion. Since he had been excommunicated, William had to stay at the door. When the time for the Communion came Bernard, "no longer acting as a mere man, took up the Lord's Body, placed It on the paten, and with countenance all aglow and eyes darting flames, bore It from the church, not now to supplicate but to command." Here he addressed William with spirited words: "Behold, the Virgin's Son, the Head and Lord of that Church which you are persecuting, has now Himself come to you. Here is your Judge at Whose name bends every knee in heaven, on earth and in hell. Here is your Judge into Whose hands that soul of yours shall one day fall. Will you despise Him also? Will you scorn Christ as you have scorned His servants?" William, overcome by Bernard's chastisement, fell to the ground, showing, as the good abbot says, all the symptoms of a man suffering from epilepsy.

It is evident that this story fitted well into the iconographic pattern of the counter-reformation. It exemplified the triumph of the Sacrament over all the

foes of the church, a theme to which Rubens had devoted a magnificent cycle of allegories. It demonstrated particularly well the principle of the Church's power over secular princes and it forms, in the very pattern which the artist gave to it, a parallel to such stories as the Meeting of Abraham and Melchisedec and the Conflict of St. Ambrosius and Emperor Theodosius, both very popular in catholic art of the seventeenth century.⁹

The style of the Neuerburg sketch is evidently the same as that of the one in Detroit. We find the same broad stroke with massive, dense, and boldly punctuated highlights; the same summary treatment of details, and a similar unconcern with clarification of space, as may be seen in the group of horsemen at the left. The two sketches, by their stylistic kinship, separate themselves more forcefully from Rubens' authentic works than either could alone. Indeed, they are not only similar in style and identical in size¹⁰ but they were also made for the same altar. Of this altar, which probably had the shape of a triptych, only the wings are known. They hang today in one of the shallow chapels adjoining the ambulatory of the Cathedral of Tournay. The outsides of the wings show an *Annunciation* (Figs. 3, 4), while on their insides we find the same scenes as in the Detroit and Hamburg sketches (Figs. 5, 6). Thus the triumph of St. Michael over the rebellious angels is joined to and balanced by the triumph of the priesthood, and of the Sacrament over a rebellious prince.

The correspondence between the sketches and the two wings in Tournay needs no demonstration, but it is necessary to point out that there are a great many minor variations of the kind customarily found between sketches and finished pictures. These variations show that the painter of the wings was not simply a man who mechanically carried out somebody else's design but an artist who worked from his own sketches and who therefore felt free to modify them wherever he wanted to or found it necessary. Some of the changes were imposed by the slightly different shape of the large panels. They are narrower and higher and have at the top the kind of "panhandle" which had been common in the fifteenth century but was an archaic feature at the time the pictures were done. Other changes are due to the need of the finished work to show things more in detail. An especially interesting alteration is the replacing of the monstrance, which Bernard of Clairvaux carries in the sketch, by a Host set upon a simple paten in keeping with the text of the story. The chief difference, however, is found in the technical execution. The finished panels are painted less spontaneously, in a smooth, almost slick style, betraying the influence of Van Dyck rather than that of Rubens. They still have the spotty



*Fig. 1. HERE ATTRIBUTED TO LUCAS FRANCHOYS
St. Michael (Sketch)
Detroit Institute of Arts*



*Fig. 2. HERE ATTRIBUTED TO LUCAS FRANCHOYS
The Conversion of William of Aquitaine
Hamburg, Neuerburg Collection*



*Figs. 3 and 4. LUCAS FRANCHOYS, Annunciation
Tournay, Cathedral*



*Fig. 5. LUCAS FRANCHOIS, St. Michael
Tournay, Cathedral*



*Fig. 6. LUCAS FRANCHOIS
Tb. Conversion of William of Aquitaine
Tournay, Cathedral*



*Fig. 7. LUCAS FRANCHOYS, Despoilment of Christ
Tournay, Cathedral*



*Fig. 8. LUCAS FRANCHOYS
Martyrdom of St. Nicaise
Tournay, Cathedral*



*Fig. 9. HERE ATTRIBUTED TO LUCAS FRANCHOYS
Head of a Young Man (Sketch)
Bayonne, Musée Bonnat*

distribution of light and dark of the sketches, but because of the more coherently painted surfaces the spatial arrangement is more convincing. They also, to an even higher degree, show the tendency, noticed in the sketches, to idealize shape and expression of figures and to give a certain elegance to their poses.

The Tournay wings, fortunately, are signed and dated. On the wing with the Virgin of the Annunciation we read: "L. Franchoy's Pinxit 1649."¹¹ The date is welcome if only for the reason that it excludes the possibility — most unlikely from what has been said before—that Rubens made the sketches to be executed by Franchoy's. Rubens had died nine years before the altarpiece was made. There is every reason to accept the two sketches as the authentic works of Lucas Franchoy's.¹²

Who was Lucas Franchoy's? The Franchoy's were an artist's family from Mechlin. Of Lucas Franchoy's the Elder little is known, but his two sons were successful artists. Peter Franchoy's, the older of the two (1606-1654), is chiefly known as a portraitist. Lucas, ten years younger (1616-1681), was first trained by his father and then by Rubens, with whom he stayed until the death of his master. Where he was between 1640 and 1654 is unknown but it is believed that he worked in Tournay and in France. In 1654 he returned to Mechlin and he seems to have remained there as a successful and recognized artist until his death. In 1663 he served as Dean of the artists' guild.¹³ His style, to the eyes of early observers like de Bie,¹⁴ recalled that of such other artists as Jordaens, Van Dyck, Willeboirts, Erasmus Quellinus and Jan Boeckhorst.

A sizable body of works by Lucas Franchoy's is known, but up to now none of his sketches had been identified. The two sketches published in this article throw a new light on the master. His finished works have the somewhat impersonal character of many products of the later Flemish painters. They show a certain flair for elegant movements, for fluid design, for decorous types. Besides the two wings just discussed there are two more paintings in the Cathedral of Tournay, a *Despoilment of Christ*, somewhat reminiscent of the late Jordaens, and a *Martyrdom of St. Nicaise*, which betrays the influence of the French school of classicistic Baroque. Both works (Figs. 7, 8) show Franchoy's facility in painting large canvases, his preference for a bolus ground resulting in a dark general tone out of which glisten with sudden brilliance the highlights of armor and the point-like accents of the whites of eyes. However, no one familiar with such works would have expected the artist to be capable of the dashing bravura of the sketches in Detroit and Hamburg. Yet it would not be the first time that a master, whose big canvases

are plainly no more than inexpensive large scale decorations, is found to show in his sketches much more spontaneity and freshness than one might have given him credit for. It is not certain whether seventeenth century critics saw any particular merit in Franchoy's sketches. To the modern beholder, no doubt, they are much more rewarding than his vast "machines."

This is not the place to trace the development of Lucas Franchoy's or to assemble a catalogue of his works. I believe that, as with other seventeenth century artists, a fair number of paintings can be added to the catalogues contained in Wurzbach, Thieme-Becker, and the *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*. In this connection I should like only to add one work which is technically closely related to his sketches and reveals Franchoy from a new angle, as a rather sensitive portraitist. In the Musée Bonnat at Bayonne there is a sketch for a head of a young man, attributed to Van Dyck, which seems to me to be a work by Franchoy (Fig. 9).¹⁵ It has the same pinkish color scheme as the Detroit sketch, the same heavy impasto of the white highlights on forehead and nose together with a very free, loose-flowing and sinuous treatment of the hair. Some passages of the brushwork in the hair are found in a nearly identical way in the hair of the large fallen angel in the Detroit sketch. The elegant inclination of the head is reminiscent of some of Van Dyck's portraits¹⁶ but the picture lacks completely the sleek linear precision of Van Dyck's design and the subtlety of his characterization. With the sketches in Hamburg and Detroit, on the other hand, it forms a fairly consistent group. Given these three sketches as a nucleus it is perhaps possible to use them as a magnet, so to speak, to draw other sketches, so far still attributed to Rubens or Van Dyck, from the orbit of these masters and to give them to their real author: Lucas Franchoy the Younger.

- ¹ See R. Oldenbourg, *Die Flämische Malerei*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1922, p. 137.
- ² Sale H. v. Kilóni, Sept. 26, 1917, no. 13.
- ³ Walter Heil, "Sketches by Rubens and Van Dyck," *Detroit Institute of Arts Bulletin*, March, 1930, p. 78. Heil dated the sketch "ca. 1630."
- ⁴ Ernst Scheyer, *Baroque Painting*, Detroit Institute of Arts, 1937, p. 45.
- ⁵ *An Exhibition of Sixty Paintings and some Drawings by Peter Paul Rubens*, Detroit, 1936, no. 43. In this *Catalogue* the sketch is considered as a preliminary work for the *Fall of the Rebellious Angels* (*Klassiker der Kunst*, 214), which formerly decorated the ceiling of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp, and it is dated "ca. 1620" in accordance with this theory.
- ⁶ *Loan Exhibition of Forty-three Paintings by Rubens and Twenty-five Paintings by Van Dyck*, Los Angeles County Museum, 1946, no. 25.
- ⁷ Jan-Albert Goris and Julius S. Held, *Rubens in America*, A. 70, p. 52, pl. 4, Appendix. My conclusion, in the *Catalogue*, was that "the picture was probably done by a classicizing follower of Rubens."
- ⁸ Cf. Ailbe J. Luddy, O. Cist., *Life and Teaching of St. Bernard*, Dublin, 1927, p. 283 ff.
- ⁹ The story of the conversion of William of Aquitaine is found also on the choir stalls by C. Garavaglia, of 1645, at Chiaravalle, cf. Dr. P. Tiburtius Hümpfner, S. O. Cist., *Ikongraphie des hl. Bernard von Clairvaux*, cf. Dr. P. Tiburtius Hümpfner, S. O. Cist., *Ikongraphie des hl. Bernard von Clairvaux*, Augsburg, 1927, p. 80.
- ¹⁰ The Detroit sketch measures 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches X 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches; the Hamburg sketch 25 X 20 cm.
- ¹¹ On the frame of the picture of the *Conversion of the Duke of Aquitaine by St. Bernard* there is a label which gives Philippe de Champaigne as the author of the painting. This attribution is clearly untenable but not surprising considering the great prestige which Philippe de Champaigne enjoyed in the country of his origin, prompting many well-intentioned clerics to attach his name to works in their charge.
- ¹² The attribution of both sketches to Franchois was also made by L. Burchard independently of this author.
- ¹³ Cf. *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, VII (1880-83), 236.
- ¹⁴ C. de Bie, *Het Gulden Cabinet vande Edels Vry Schilder-Const*, Antwerp, 1861, p. 374.
- ¹⁵ Inv. no. 28, cat. no. 940. Canvas, 26 X 24 cm.
- ¹⁶ For instance *Klassiker der Kunst*, pp. 119, 157, 158, 178.

SHORTER NOTES:

TUN HUANG: VISION OF BUDDHIST GLORY As seen in Irene Vincent's photographs

By JAMES MARSHALL PLUMER

ALMOST any report from the ancient Buddhist caves near Tun-huang, China,¹ and particularly a photographic one, is an event of significance. Situated in the far western panhandle of Kansu province, the site is as remote a spot as one could hope for anywhere on earth. It has been difficult of access ever since the overland route gave way to the sea as the principal approach to China. Even with the motor truck and airplane, both of which have been introduced since the explorations of Sir Aurel Stein, Paul Pelliot and Langdon Warner, the trip has been uncertain and difficult at best.² Trade, exploration for oil and empire building in our day have not followed the ancient pilgrim paths. So it is that Tun Huang, in olden times on the main highway, remains today as through the more recent centuries, off the beaten track. And so it is that the fine photographs taken by Mrs. John Vincent in the summer of 1948 and published here for the first time command attention.³ With the exception of the brief account of Desmond Parsons, who visited the site in 1935, we know of no other published photographic report from the site since those of the three well-known explorers already mentioned.⁴

Let us, then, with the help of these splendid fresh glimpses, try to visualize the artistic glories of Tun Huang as they have come down to us *in situ*. The general character of the oasis of Ch'ien Fo Tung a thousand years and more ago, when the Buddhist community was most flourishing, is undoubtedly well preserved in the scene as it appears today. A trickle of flowing water and an outburst of luxuriant foliage brighten an otherwise desolate stretch of landscape where the forbidding Nan Shan, "Southern Mountains," spurs of the Kun Lun Range, meet the drifting sands of the Gobi. According to the season of the year, the calendar of religious festivals, and the peaceful or war-



*Fig. 1. WEI PERIOD (6TH CENTURY), Wall Painting
A Bodhisattva(?) seated in "lalita asana." Detail from cave
not photographed by Pelliot. Cave N 254 (P 105)*



Fig. 2. T'ANG PERIOD (7TH TO 8TH CENTURY?)
Painted Clay Sculpture with minor restorations
Buddha with attendant figures approximately life size
A previously unphotographed group. Cave N 438 (P 118 R)



Fig. 3. CH' IEN FO TUNG, a portion of the Buddhist Site
generally known simply as "Tun Huang"



Fig. 4. WEI PERIOD (6TH CENTURY), Wall Painting
Register depicting standing Buddha with attendant Deities, multiple Buddhas
and Donors adjoining. A previously unphotographed detail
Cave N 249 (P 101) North Wall

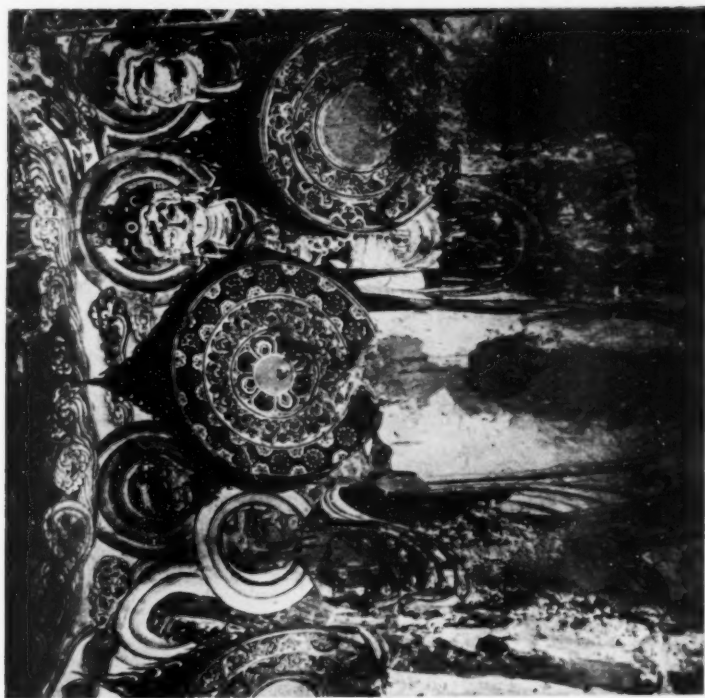
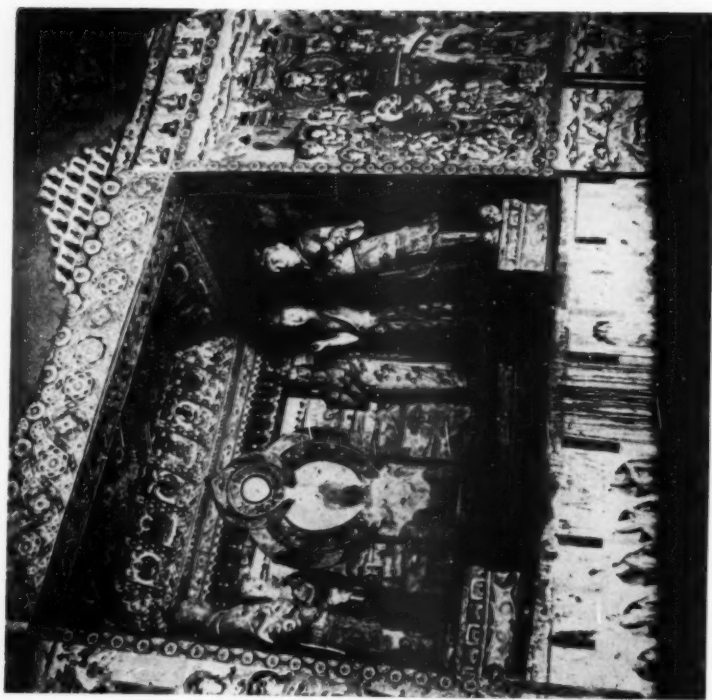
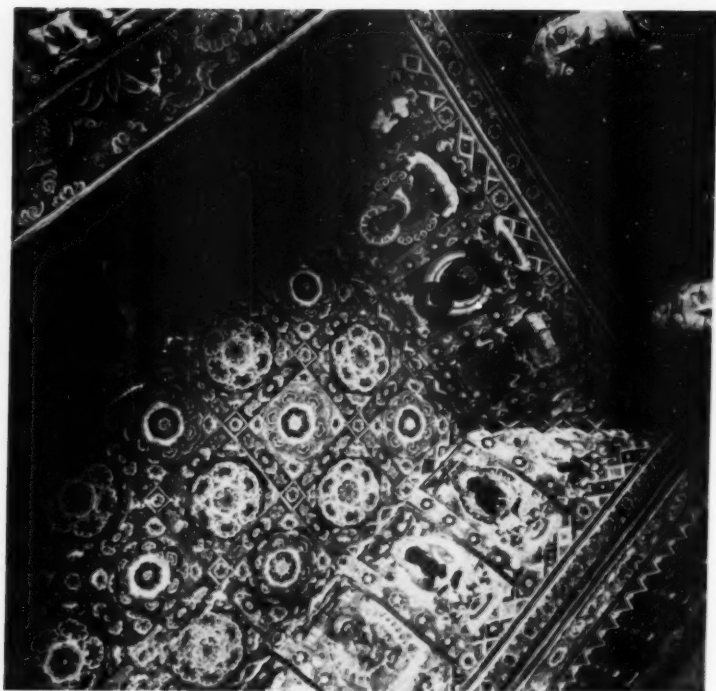


Fig. 5. T'ANG PERIOD (7TH TO 8TH CENTURY?), Wall Painting
Arbats, Bodhisattvas, Halos and Clouds. Back ground to sculptural
elements now lost. A previously unphotographed detail
Cave N 217 (P 70) North Wall of Central Niche



*Fig. 6. T'ANG PERIOD (8TH TO 9TH CENTURY?), Buddhist Chapel
Except for missing Buddha image and damage to ceiling original appearance
essentially retained. Cave N 159 (P 21)*



*Fig. 7. T'ANG PERIOD (8TH TO 9TH CENTURY?), Painted ceiling over altar
Cave N 159 (P 21)*

like conditions along the highway, this scene would be astir with pilgrims and monks and merchants, mules and horses and camels, or would be in off times apparently deserted. There is no reason to believe that the site was ever forgotten or completely deserted since the end of the fifth century, when it is believed the earliest extant Buddhist caves were hewn out and painted.⁵

The traveler, having left the walled city of Tun-huang several miles behind, approaches a small modern gate. Passing through this, he comes to a sandstone cliff honey-combed with man-made caves, four hundred and fifty-seven of them by the latest official count. The accompanying photograph (Fig. 3) shows a general cliff-side layout similar to that of the better known rock-cut sites of Yün-kang and Lung-men. Four distinctive and specifically local features may be noted as follows: the natural very coarse sandstone surface, weather worn and gradually crumbling; the handsome nine-storied pavilion, a triumph of recent pious construction; the white-washed mud repair work, simple but practical; and the remains of painted wall surfacing in the exposed caves.

The wooden pavilion, we are told, was erected entirely out of funds begged by the late Wang Tao-shih, the Taoist priest who once held sole knowledge of the hidden chapel with its now scattered hoard of MSS. and scrolls.⁶ If this be so, Stein, Pelliot and Warner are undoubtedly, though unwittingly, included amongst the thousands of anonymous donors. A far cry from the original wooden structures that must once have formed a façade to the cliff, the pavilion is at least worthy of notice as a contribution in our day toward keeping alive the spiritual tradition. The less spectacular earthen repairs are, in another way, equally to be admired. Conscientiously avoiding defacement, they have been carried out for the sole purpose of preserving the original remains in their present condition. They are the work of the Tun Huang Institute set up in 1943 with specially granted Government funds. Here, then, side by side are seen the separate contemporary efforts of church and state toward preservation of the cultural heritage. Mrs. Vincent reports to the credit of the Institute that, although many individual caves had been shut off periodically for study and repair, all were thrown open on the occasion of religious festivals.

The bulk of the wall paintings — our principal concern — have long been accepted as unretouched original works produced over a five-century period between 1500 and 1000 years ago. These cover the walls and ceilings of hundreds of cave-chapels and shrines, a large number of which are in almost

original condition.⁷ Surely no comparable body of wall paintings exists anywhere else in the world. The fact remains that general works on Chinese art published since Tun Huang's discovery have given it scant notice and faint praise.⁸ Two factors seem to have beclouded the Western estimate. The first has been a false assumption of provinciality, for there is no doubt that Tun Huang was a nerve center of religious activity for centuries, and that it stood as a gateway and reception point on the main highway to China from India, the Buddhist Holy Land. In the words of Richard Aldrich, it was "the port of entry for spiritual goods."

The second factor leading to a misunderstanding of Tun Huang's aesthetic worth has been the adoption of an attitude at once unsound and unfitting to us, that of the Chinese literati who would seek in Wei and T'ang an appropriate background for the great idealistic scroll paintings of Sung. The fallacy is easily pointed out. The informal, personal brush passages done by neo-Confucian and Ch'an philosophers for their sophisticated friends were of a far different inspiration and intent than the exacting traditional iconographic adornment of sacred precincts painted for pilgrims by anonymous priests. In the two types are summed up the whole genius of Chinese painting. The restrained meaningful impressionism of ink and space that blossomed in Sung was preceded and paralleled by equally meaningful exuberant revelation in full color. It is with the latter type of artistic expression that we are here concerned.

Details of two chapel walls are illustrated to show two different types of mental image, or we might better say ecstatic vision, found at Tun Huang. The one (Fig. 4) may be taken as typical of the Wei period (A.D. 386-589) and the other (Fig. 5) of the T'ang (A.D. 618-907). We have advisedly not referred to these as representing two "styles"—for as will be seen, many styles were possible upon a single wall, and several styles may even have been employed by a single artist according to the demands of subject matter. In Figure 4, for example, we have a rigid formula employed for the multiple Buddha images—a device not to be accounted for by *horror vacui* but by a scriptural iconographic requirement that called for representation of "Countless Buddhas." Much less rigid is the arrangement below of two informal lines of donors. The principal register is quite different in style from either of the adjoining types. It demonstrates a clarity of formal vision equal to that found in the mosaics of Haghia Sophia (which incidentally it antedates).

Here are seen a group of nine images varying in size according to degrees

of spirituality. A central Buddha image with halo, aura and canopy ornamented with ribbon and tassels hanging from twin phoenixes, is attended by four crowned Bodhisattvas clad in skirts and scarves. These five stand on formal lotus seed pods, symbols of spiritual regeneration. Above them hover the Heavenly Hosts symbolized by four apsaras, their scarves disposed in wing-like or flame-like manner. The strong postures and gestures, the formal shading and high lights, and the easy balance of the composition are perhaps less noteworthy than the clarity of vision. Having seen that vision in the full color that the gradations of the photograph can only hint at, a pious viewer would have no difficulty in carrying it away.

If the T'ang detail caught by the camera in Figure 5 is to be contrasted with the preceding, it is not with respect to clarity of vision. The formal, the informal and the semi-formal handling noted in separate areas of the Wei painting are here, however, found all together. Geometric halos and hand-drawn halos overlap. Bodhisattvas of an upper hierarchy are portrayed more formally than the more human arhats. The rigid halos ornamented with elaborate formal lotus flowers burst into simply executed yet informal flame. By weaving small clouds in and out of the great halos of the Holy Ones, there is created an illusion of the Other World, a perspective of Reality. To put it another way, if the cloud motifs are thought of as real clouds, the figures of the composition, *in proper perspective*, reach from earth to sky. This is a thing that the merely provincial painter would be hard pressed to indicate.

Painting and sculpture at Tun Huang are related arts. A photograph of sculptured images of the T'ang period (Fig. 2) is shown by way of comparison and contrast with a strikingly painted Wei image (Fig. 1). Despite the differences in handling to be expected between the more humanistic tendencies of the later T'ang period and the more formal handling of the Wei, the sculptured figures are actually painted and the painted figure is sculpturally conceived; and furthermore painting and sculpture alike are created out of like natural pigments and like clay. The Tun Huang craftsmen of either period could create strong images in two or three dimensions. The sculptured group (Fig. 2), averaging an approximate life-size, shows an image of Buddha flanked by a disciple, presumably Ananda, a Bodhisattva and an armored Dvarapala on a demon, with two lesser adoring Bodhisattvas in the foreground. Despite damage or restoration of the hands and retouching of the eyes, the figures are in remarkably good condition. Their closest surviving

parallels are to be found amongst the surviving Tempyo clays, all National Treasures, in the Ho-ryu-ji, Shin-yakushi-ji and To-dai-ji, in Nara, Japan.

The principal figure in Figure 1, precisely portrayed in the *lalita asana*, or pose of royal ease, recalls India as clearly as the T'ang sculptures remind us of Japan. The evidence of these two photographs is to the effect that at Tun Huang we stand squarely on the main path of Mahayana Buddhism in its Eastward movement across Asia.

That integration of architecture, sculpture and painting so often found in the Orient is apparent in the glimpse of the interior of a T'ang chapel, Cave N-159 (Fig. 6). We see the inner wall of a painted cell. In the center of this, at altar height, a niche has been hewn out which (as the remaining halo and body aura show) once held a seated Buddha image. Raised above the altar, but below the now lost throne of Buddha, stand six painted clay attendant images, somewhat restored. Nearest to the worshiper are a pair of Dvarapalas or heavenly guardians, next to them a pair of Bodhisattvas (only one is visible) and nearest to the Buddha his beloved disciples, or arhats, Ananda and Kaçyapa. Like a hanging altar cloth are streaks of wax from the candles of worshipers. The principal panel to the right shows Manju-sri enthroned on his vehicle, the lion.

Even at a respectful distance there is too much for the untrained eye to absorb. Should we step near enough to the altar to obtain a close view of the vault above the images (Fig. 7) we would be met with astounding richness of architecturally planned detail. In the simulated ceiling panels are lotuses only to be matched for richness in extant T'ang remains in the imperial gifts from the ruling house of T'ang to the rulers of Japan stored at the Shoso-in in Nara since A.D. 752. The simulated beam that appears diagonally across the upper right of Figure 7 would hold its own against the freest ornament at Ajanta. Rather than plead that Tun Huang is not provincial we would as easily show that Tun Huang is cosmopolitan.

Excellent as these photographs are as such, their real success lies in what they tell us of the early Buddhist painters' work. Mrs. Vincent's camera has caught much of the verve and warmth and life inherent in the originals. We look forward to her promised full album of photographs, some of them possibly in color. Then perhaps the true glory of the divine Buddhist revelation at Tun Huang, so long neglected, will come into its own. This would of course be a matter of re-discovery of the sublime vision of which Warner wrote:

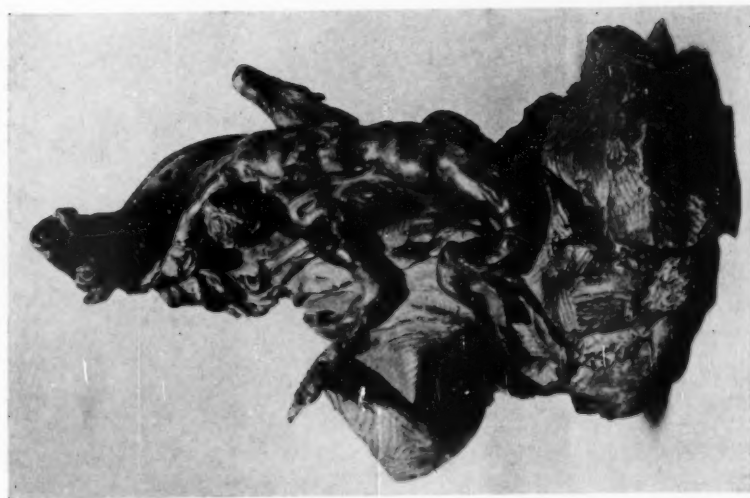


Fig. 1. HERE ATTRIBUTED TO BERNINI
Triton and Sea Horse
Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection

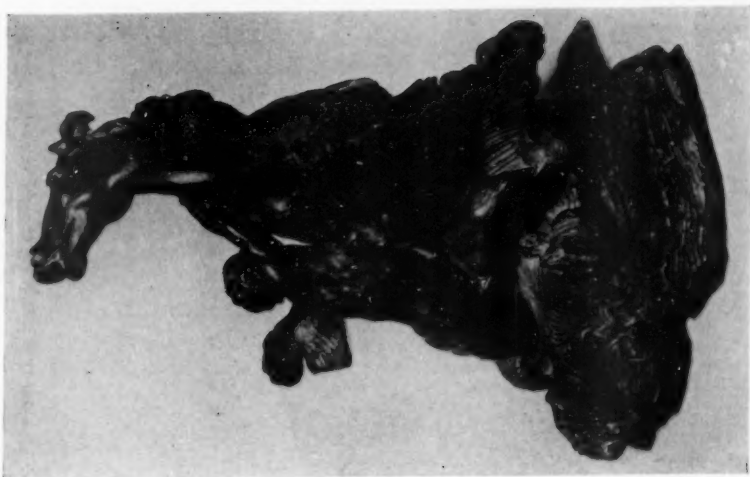
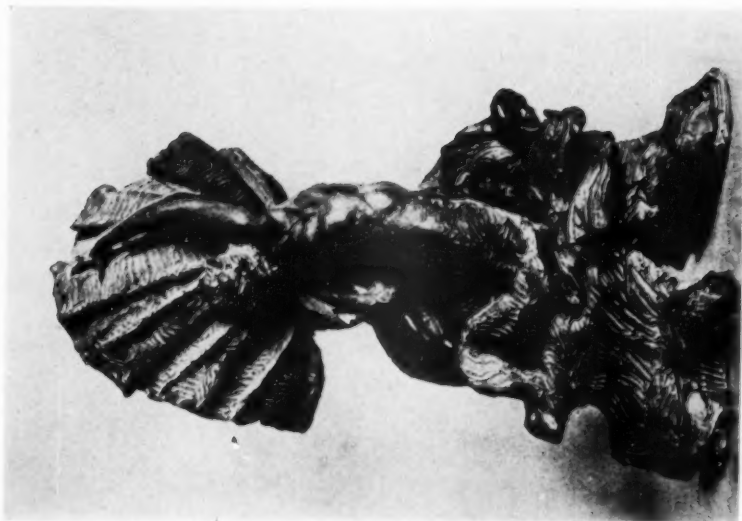


Fig. 2. *Triton and Sea Horse*
(front view)



*Fig. 3. Triton and Sea Horse
(rear view)*



*Fig. 4. ATTRIBUTED TO BERNINI, Triton Bozzetto
Vienna, Berl Collection*

The holy men of fourteen centuries ago had left their gods in splendour on those walls. Tens of thousands of them, walking in slow procession, seated calm on flowering lotus blossoms, with hands raised to bless mankind, or wrapt in meditation or deeper still sunk in thoughtless Nirvana.⁹

⁹ In accordance with geographic usage the spelling "Tun-huang" is used for the actual city of that name, whereas "Tun Huang" is used as a generic term for the Tun Huang cave-sites, locally referred to as "Ch'ien Fo Tung."

¹⁰ For the original reports see: Sir Aurel Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, London, 1912, vol. II; *Serindia*, Oxford, 1928, vols. I-V, and *On Ancient Central Asian Tracks*, London, 1933; Paul Pelliot, *Les Grottes de Touen-Houang*, Paris, 1920-21-24, vols. I-VI; Langdon Warner, *The Long Old Road in China*, New York, 1926; and *Buddhist Wall-Paintings—A Study of a Ninth-Century Grotto at Wan Fo Hsia*.

¹¹ The photographs reproduced in this article have been selected from a group of over seventy taken by Mrs. John Vincent (née Irene Vongehr), none of which have been published.

¹² See Desmond Parsons, "The Caves of the Thousand Buddhas," *Illustrated London News*, May 30, 1936, pp. 969-71.

Tradition accords a much earlier beginning. The earliest date for any of the paintings, however, is A.D. 538, which Pelliot gives for Cave N285 (P120N). For cave numbers we give the present National Government numbering preceded by "N" with Pelliot numbering preceded by "P" in parenthesis.

¹³ This priceless treasure-trove of cultural relics does not come within the scope of the present article. However, the interested reader is referred to the works of Stein already noted and to his work with Laurence Binyon, *The Thousand Buddhas: Ancient Buddhist Paintings from the Cave-Temples of Tun Huang on the Western Frontier of China*, London, 1921, and also to Arthur Waley, *A Catalogue of Paintings recovered from Tun Huang . . . in the Museum of Central Asian Antiquities, Delphi*, London, 1931.

¹⁴ The total number listed by the Tun Huang Institute is four hundred and fifty-seven, nearly three hundred being assigned to the Tang period or slightly earlier and over twenty to the Wei period.

¹⁵ This is not the place to criticize such authors as Laurence Binyon, Arthur Waley and William Cohn—to all of whom we are indebted on other scores—for failure to catch the torch handed on to them by the explorers who came, saw and were conquered. Our purpose is merely to lay upon the table a part of the latest alluring first-hand report.

¹⁶ Langdon Warner, *The Long Old Road in China*, New York, 1926, p. 138.

A BOZZETTO ATTRIBUTED TO BERNINI

By SHERMAN E. LEE

IT is a truism that the autograph touch of the two great Baroque masters, Bernini and Rubens, is to be found in their sketches. In both cases, the one in fluid paint, the other in plastic clay, we find the most intimate thought, feeling and touch of masters who customarily allowed other hands to intervene between the sketch and the finished object. While the sketches by the Fleming are numerous, the *bozzetti* by the Roman are relatively scarce, especially in this country.¹

There has recently been added to the Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection of the Seattle Art Museum a clay *bozzetto* of a *Triton and Sea Horse* (Figs. 1, 2, 3), formerly in the O. Bondy Collection, Vienna, which I think can with reason be attributed to Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598-1690). The sculpture is fifteen inches in height and is made from a mobile clay which has been lightly fired and then, much later, waxed. The fired clay can be easily scratched with a point. The preservation is unusually fine despite the loss of the forelegs of

the sea horse.² The tail of the horse is broken on both points. There are also slight losses in the base. To offset these minor matters we find the surface to be unusually well preserved with the slightest touch of the modeler clearly evident in any part.

The representative elements compose a Triton holding a rearing sea horse by the mane. The Triton is a muscular figure, his thighs ending in fish tails. On his head is a chaplet of leaves. With his right hand he forcefully grasps the upper mane of the horse while he has thrown his left arm across the horse's back, over a draped cloth. The horse rears and throws his head to the right, raises his forelegs and lashes his fish tail to the right. A rough undercut rockery base supports the two figures.

Like most great Baroque works much of the excitement in the work is transmitted with great virtuosity by representational means. The ripple and flow of the Triton's muscular back, the strain and tension in his right arm, the great curve of the horse's throat; these are things drawn from brief but heightened visions of the world about us. Like much Baroque art the sculpture seems to burst the bounds of the medium. The open mouth of the horse suggests an almost audible sound.

These representational elements are fortified and united by the aesthetic organization of the *bozzetto*, conceived in the full round with a vigorous attack on the surrounding space. Three interlocking, rocking and curving masses of different size dominate the group: the great curving body of the horse; the right arm, torso and tail of the Triton; and the right arm, shoulders and left arm of the Triton. The S curve in three dimensions is a secondary motive of great importance. The whole effect is dominated by the evanescent, a moment of suddenly arrested action and tension. Such a fleeting moment is again a typically Baroque thing.

The technique is miraculous. The rough areas, tails, waves and rockery are ripped out with a six-clawed chisel, the mane and hair are indicated with a small modeling stick, while the surface of the flesh parts is worked with a fine-toothed, flat chisel. The touch is rapid, rough where needed, incredibly soft and delicate in the flowing, rhythmical pattern of back muscles. Even the finest striations caused by the chisel are evident in the clay of this latter area, following the contours up to the Triton's head. From every angle, in the whole or in detail, the virtuosity and rapidity of the sculptor's movements are sympathetically transmitted to us.

The *Triton and Sea Horse* is related to several works which can effectively

place it in the history of Roman Baroque art. The closest of these works are the two *Triton bozzetti* in the Berl Collection, Vienna (Fig. 4). Brinckmann's description of the technique and style of these could be applied as well to the Seattle group:

The Triton with scaled fishlegs is sitting astride on a fish which lies over an open-worked cliff of rock. With his arms he is lifting up a big shell. His head is wild and bearded but does not show the Negroid type of the bozzetto, plate 26 and 27. Excellent technic: Cliffs and animal parts are worked with a broad ripping chisel. The human body of the Triton is executed exceedingly delicately with the marks of the smoothing fingers.³

Even the size of the chisel tooth-marks appear identical and the variation and complexity of the ripping strokes is in marked contrast to the regular and mechanical ripping technique used by Bernini's lesser contemporaries. The irregular formation of the base and the sinuous but fleshy curl of the tails with a noticeably elliptical or flattened cross-section are to be found in all three models. The scale of the sculptures is similar: .315 m. and .28 m. for the Berl models; .381 m. for the Seattle example. Brinckmann attributes the Berl groups directly to Bernini and dates them in the early 1650's as preliminary sketches for the *Fontana del Moro* (1654), finally finished by Mari.⁴ Another work attributed by Brinckmann to Bernini is the group of Tritons in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.⁵ We find the same lithe, muscular types and especially the marked chisel and finger-smoothing technique using the imprints of the chisel teeth as modeling indications. A lesser sculptor's finicky regard for finish is a marked contrast to this subtle technique. Indeed Brinckmann indicates this technique to be especially characteristic of Bernini in the 1650's.

Some of the representational details can also be traced to Bernini. The low forehead, prominent brow and straight nose of our Triton are found generally throughout his work, notably in the Berlin *Tritons*; the *S. Augustine bozzetto* of c. 1650 in the Pollack Collection, Rome;⁶ the *Stream Gods* (especially the figure of the Nile) in the Museo Marciano, Venice, considered by Brinckmann to be a *bozzetto* for the *Fontana dei Quattro Fiume* finished in 1651;⁷ and the famous *Fontana del Tritone* itself in the Piazza Barberini (1640). The chaplet of leaves is apparently a rare feature in *bozzetti*, but can be found in the one best documented sketch by Bernini, the stucco *Fontana dei Quattro Fiume* in the Casa Giocondi, executed in 1647.⁸ One finds as well the same supple modeling in the torsos. The small wood model after Bernini's *Neptune and Glaucus* in the Victoria and Albert Museum should also be cited for its com-

parable modeling approach in both figures, but especially in that of the Triton.⁹

There are apparently no known drawings directly related to the *Triton and Sea Horse*.¹⁰ However, we can note a similar head treatment in the drawing for the Nile in the Uffizi¹¹ and similar physical types along with a comparable aesthetic effect in the famous drawing at Windsor Castle for a double Triton fountain which was apparently never executed.¹²

Still the best evidence is from the *Triton and Sea Horse* itself, visual evidence that only needs comparison with known *bozzetti* by other seventeenth century masters to indicate, in my judgment, that here is a master sketch by Bernini himself, the man who dominated the Italian Baroque.

For what was this a *bozzetto*? There are two possibilities. Brinckmann and Posse¹³ note that Bernini received commissions for at least two monumental fountains requiring Tritons in the 1650's: the *Moro* (1654) in the Piazza Navona and the *Barcaccia* in the Piazza di Spagna. Our *bozzetto*, if we can accept a dating in the 1650's, may have been one of several trial runs for the commissioned works. While we might wish that a large work based on the group had been completed, it might well have lost the unique quality of the sketch. Perhaps the forelegs of the horse were the reason for rejection of the basic idea or, more likely, the difficulty of solving the water distribution for a fountain because the perfect composition of the sketch allowed no modification for a water source.

The other, and more intriguing possibility is that we have here one of the few material evidences of Bernini's ideas for the great *Fontana Trevi*, finally executed by Bracci and Salvi, artists of the early eighteenth century. Among other writers, Posse mentions the project and cites the sepia drawing in the Palazzo Doria.¹⁴ The *Fontana Trevi* has on the spectator's left at the side of Bracci's Neptune a Triton and rearing sea horse which, while far removed, even disintegrated, from the Seattle *bozzetto*, appears to be inspired by the latter. The first evidences of the Trevi project are to be found in the 1640's before the death in 1644 of its supporter, Urban VIII, which effectively postponed its final development. This would make the *Triton and Sea Horse* coeval with the well-known Triton fountain of the Piazza Barberini.

At any rate, we have in the Seattle sketch both an important document of Baroque fountain sculpture and a work of art that conveys the positive qualities of the Baroque at its best: dynamic handling of space, tension, movement, drama, psychological unity, and the absolute conquest of material and reality.

¹ The group of twenty-five models from the Piancastelli Collection, attributed to Bernini by Norton, were acquired by the Fogg Museum of Art. See "A Group of Models for Berninesque Sculpture," *Fogg Museum of Art Bulletin*, VII, No. 2 (March, 1938), 26-29. To my knowledge, these are the only *bozzetti* close to Bernini in the United States. Bronzes from his workshop are in the Metropolitan Museum (*Neptune*: Metropolitan Museum of Art *Bulletin*, April, 1947, p. 207) and the National Gallery of Art, Kress Collection (*Louis XIV*: National Gallery of Art, *Book of Illustrations*, Washington, D. C. 1941, p. 219).

² When acquired, forelegs were present but examination revealed them to be quite recent additions. Their awkward appearance and problematical position dictated their removal. Finger prints are clearly stamped in the clay on the bottom of the *bozzetto*. Would it be possible to employ criminological methods and compare these prints with those on the Berl and Casa Giocondi models?

³ A. E. Brinckmann, *Barock-Bozzetti Italienische Bildhauer*, 4 vols., Frankfurt, 1924. Vol. II, pls. 25, 26, 27; text, pp. 55-57. Also reproduced in "Bozzetti and Modelletti" by W. Born, *Connoisseur*, April, 1937, pp. 191, 192.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 57. In vol. I, p. 103, Brinckmann makes reference to two models for Tritons in Vienna (the Berl Figures?) and places them in 1640 as sketches for the *Fontana del Tritone*. However, the references mentioned in vol. II appear to supplant this judgment.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. I, pl. 41.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. I, pl. 40.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. II, pls. 19, 20.

⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. II, pls. 17, 18.

⁹ E. MacLagan, "Bernini's Neptune and Glaucus," *Burlington Magazine*, LVIII (March, 1931), 143.

¹⁰ Aside from the few publications available, a letter from Dr. Wittkower says that he knows of no immediately comparable drawings of the same subject.

¹¹ L. Grassi, *Disegni del Bernini*, Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, Bergamo, 1944, no. 15.

¹² *Ibid.*, no. 17.

¹³ *Thieme-Becker*, III, 464.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

NOTE: Dr. Lee requests that the following corrections be added to his note on "Two Baroque Bronzes" in *The Art Quarterly*, XIII (1950), 260.—The Editors

Page 261: instead of "... 7 bronze variants" read: "... 8 bronze variants"

Footnote 6: after "New York" add: "and the example formerly in the Russian State Collection, reproduced by Wittkower, *ibid.*"

Page 261: after the sentence ending: "... executed by his workshop soon after the preparatory work" add footnote: "Wittkower, *ibid.*, states that a number of castings were probably made in the Vatican foundries at the time of the preparatory work for the marble group."

Page 261: last paragraph, in the parenthesis after the phrase "available to the writer" insert: "Russian State Collection, Corsini."

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Dear Sir:

In volume XIII, number 3, of *The Art Quarterly* there was published a bronze statuette of a horse recently acquired by the Seattle Art Museum, and there attributed to Pietro Tacca: "close to a follower of Giovanni Bologna, perhaps Pietro Tacca (c. 1577-c. 1640)." It happens that the Philadelphia Museum of Art in 1948 acquired a related work by gift of Gimbel Brothers: a lindenwood horse which is virtually identical in design with the well-known full-size bronze riderless rearing horse at Drottningholm, Sweden, illustrated in John Böttiger, *Bronsarbeten* of Adrien de Fries i Sverige, 1884, pl. III, a work of Adriaen de Vries (c. 1560-1627), signed and dated 1627). This big horse is the one given to the great Wallenstein by the artist, as mentioned in his letter of August 25, 1626. This states that, being old and sick, he was dissolving his household.

The date of 1626 is indeed carved on the wooden model, but, as Dr. Hans Tietze writes in a letter of February 2, 1946, the model is itself doubtless earlier, and this date doubtless does not indicate its year of origin, but the year the artist parted with it, one year before his death. Tietze places the date of the wooden model as about 1600, and cites Julius von Schlosser's erudite article in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, XXXI, to the effect that sculptors of the period kept in their studios such models of horses on which various figures of riders could be fitted when orders came in. This was doubtless the case with De Vries, as shown by other equestrian statuettes of his executed long before (for instance that of Duke Heinrich Julius of Brunswick, probably executed between 1607 and 1613), showing the same horse.

FISKE KIMBALL

Dear Sir:

I was very interested to read Miss Pauline King's article in the summer number of *The Art Quarterly* on "The Augustan Manner of John Michael Rysbrack." I have for some time been engaged in collecting material for a biography of Michael Rysbrack, which I hope will be published in due course by Country Life.

I have known of the existence of drawings said to be by Michael Rysbrack in the Art Institute of Chicago, and I am awaiting the arrival of photographs of them. Meanwhile I was very glad to see some of them reproduced in *The Art Quarterly*,

and to read Miss King's comments. May I be allowed to make some suggestions and criticisms? I think the drawing illustrated in Fig. 11 is a preliminary design for the Stanbope monument which is the pair to the Newton monument shown in Fig. 8. But I am afraid that Kent must be allowed some credit for designing the monuments, at least for suggesting or insisting on the main features, though Rysbrack may indeed have done a number of drawings. Vertue, under the date April, 1731, writing of the erection of Sir Isaac Newton's monument says, "tho' the design or drawings of it on paper was poor enough, yet for that only Mr. Kent is honoured with his name on it . . . which if it had been delivered to any other Sculptor besides Rysbrack, he might have been glad to have his name omitted" (*Walpole Society*, Vol. XXII, page 51).

On the other hand Michael Rysbrack was not a member of 'Kent's Workshop' but an independent sculptor of high reputation within a very few years of his arrival in London. Besides working with Kent, Gibbs and Leoni, and at the end of his career with Robert Adam, he had a large practice of his own and he had his sculptor's yard in Vere Street, just off Oxford Street, as early as 1725, as the Rate Books for that area of London show.

The use of the pyramidal monument Rysbrack brought with him from Antwerp, where he had been trained by Michael van der Voort—also called Vervoort—who had studied in Rome and who belonged more to the classicist tradition in Antwerp than the baroque school. An early example of the tomb with a pyramidal background is van der Voort's monument to the General Prosper Ambrose Comte de Precipiano which is in the Cathedral at Malines.

I have not yet completed my studies on Rysbrack but may I tentatively suggest that Fig. 18 is an early study for the monument to Admiral Vernon in Westminster Abbey, and Fig. 19 an early idea for the monument to the Duke of Marlborough at Blenheim?

I think all the drawings illustrated are by Michael Rysbrack with the exception of Fig. 17. It is, of course, difficult to judge from so small a photograph, but it appears to me to be quite unlike any drawing of Rysbrack's that I have seen.

M. I. WEBB

Dear Sir:

The writer is making a long range study of the life and work of the late Marsden Hartley and will be grateful for new information and material in addition to that already supplied by his friends and acquaintances to Hudson Walker and the American Art Research Council. In particular, paintings and letters which have come to light in the past five years will be useful. Assistance will be acknowledged in whatever publication may come from this study.

Answers may be addressed to the writer at 50 Commerce Street, New York 14, N. Y.

ELIZABETH McCausland

Dr. Edward R. Weidlein, Director of Mellon Institute, Pittsburgh, Pa., has announced the inception of a fellowship sponsored by the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C. The objectives of the long-range research program of this fellowship will be to develop new materials and techniques for the fine arts, both for use in original work and for restoration, with a special view toward permanence.

Although tremendous advances in the knowledge of oils, pigments, paints, ceramic materials and metals have been made in recent years, only a small fraction of this research has been concerned with the special problems of the painter and sculptor. Pictures painted in the past hundred years are on the whole less durable than earlier paintings; and although other techniques improved during the nineteenth century, the craft of painting actually declined. But even the methods of the Old Masters offer the possibility of improvement. While an oil painting executed according to the best technical traditions will often last a surprising length of time, with proper care, nevertheless there are certain inherent faults in the traditional materials; for example, the tendency of varnish to yellow and to bloom, of supports, whether of wood or canvas, to deteriorate, and of colors to alter. In seeking to discover better materials for the artist, the fellowship will apply the latest methods of research in chemistry and allied sciences with the best of facilities.

Dr. Robert L. Feller has been appointed the incumbent of this fellowship on artists' materials. Dr. Feller is an alumnus of Dartmouth College (A.B., 1941). He recently completed his graduate studies at Rutgers University in the field of physical-organic chemistry (M.S., 1943; Ph.D., 1950). He has for many years been actively interested in drawing and painting.

RECENT IMPORTANT
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JACOPO TINTORETTO, *Apollo and Marsyas*
Hartford, Conn., Wadsworth Atheneum

A TINTORETTO IN THE WADSWORTH ATHENEUM

One of the most important acquisitions made by the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, in recent years is Jacopo Tintoretto's *Apollo and Marsyas*. The subject represents the musical contest between Apollo and Marsyas, presided over by Pallas Athene and three judges. Marsyas, a member of the Sileni of Asia Minor, famous as musicians, having found a flute discarded by Athene, became so skillful in its use that he challenged Apollo to a musical contest in which the victor was to name the punishment for the vanquished. Apollo was adjudged the winner and in accordance with the agreement Marsyas was ordered flayed alive by Apollo and his skin hung on a tree to warn all who would challenge the musical skill of Apollo.

Unlike many of Tintoretto's paintings, the picture can be dated with certainty. A letter exists from the Italian poet and satirist Pietro Aretino, dated 1545, thanking Tintoretto for two pictures he had received, an *Apollo and Marsyas* and a *Mercury and Argus* (now lost). Undoubtedly this refers to the museum's purchase. It is also probable that this is the painting mentioned by Sir Dudley Carlton in 1618, British envoy to Venice, when he described a picture in his possession representing "... the musical contention of Mars [sic] and Apollo concerning music" by Tintoretto Vecchio. This indicates that the painting in all probability went to England early in the seventeenth century. Its whereabouts is unrecorded until around the middle of the nineteenth century when it was in the possession of the Duke of Abercorn. Later in the century it passed into the notable collection of Sir William Bromley-Davenport, where it re-

mained until 1926 when it was sold to a private collector in England. It was acquired by Thomas Agnew & Sons, London, in 1949 and purchased by the Wadsworth Atheneum in 1950.

This picture and its companion *Mercury and Argus* were obviously made as ceiling paintings, as evidenced by the rounded corners. In execution it is boldly and freely painted, which led Osmaston to describe the painting as a sketch. This is obviously not the case but rather, as Baron von Hadeln has pointed out, it was due to its being a ceiling painting that certain details are roughly sketched in. The technique, in fact, is particularly attuned to our twentieth century eye with its broad impressionistic treatment. Von Hadeln also points out that the stiffness of some of the figures is due to Tintoretto's use of sculptured models, a technique which he adopted from Michelangelo. Indeed, the figure of the judge with his back toward the spectator recalls, with its *contrapposto* pose, several of the youthful nude figures which surround the scenes of the Creation in the Sistine Chapel. That Tintoretto was influenced by Michelangelo later in life is well known, but at the age of twenty-seven when he painted *Apollo and Marsyas* it is highly doubtful whether he could have seen much of Michelangelo's work and the similarity is perhaps purely accidental.

The composition of the *Apollo and Marsyas* is typical of the closed composition of the Renaissance rather than the open Baroque of Tintoretto's later work. The figures are contained well within the picture frame and are divided into two groups that permit the eye to view the beautiful mountainous landscape in the background. In color there are subtle contrasts between the pale yellow of Apollo's lorica and tunic and his plum colored scarf, and the pale earthy rose of Marsyas' tunic. The crimson and dark green of the seated judge's robe is contrasted with the rich green of the judge at the right and the pale white of



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GEORGE CALEB BINGHAM, *The Trappers' Return* (H. 26 $\frac{1}{4}$ " ; W. 36 $\frac{1}{4}$ ")
Detroit Institute of Arts

Athene's dress. The condition of the painting is nearly perfect, except for a few breaks, which is only natural in a picture of that age.

THE TRAPPERS' RETURN BY GEORGE CALEB BINGHAM

From an article by E. P. Richardson in the Detroit Institute of Arts *Bulletin*, Vol. XXX, No. 3, 1950-51.

Furs and the river were the origin of Detroit and for a large part of its 250 years they supported its existence. For perhaps another century before Cadillac founded the Detroit settlement to monopolize the water route of the Great Lakes and its fur trade against the English, the *coureurs de bois* had passed through the Strait in their search for furs. These Canadian adventurers of the forest were probably the first white men to see the site where Detroit now stands. The French were the pioneers of the fur trade in North America. They began to trade with the Indians for beaver furs at Quebec. After the founding of Montreal in 1642, that outpost became the great fur market and from Lachine, above the rapids of the St. Lawrence on the island of Montreal, the *coureurs de bois* set out in their canoes for the interior of the continent. And what voyages they made! Going up the Ottawa River, they passed through the region of the upper lakes to the Grand Portage where the Canadian-American frontier now touches Lake Superior. The Grand Portage was the gateway to the rivers leading to the Lake of the Woods, from which they could pass by way of the Winnipeg River and Lake Winnipeg and the Saskatchewan River to that other enormous northward flowing chain of rivers and lakes which brought them finally to the mouth of the



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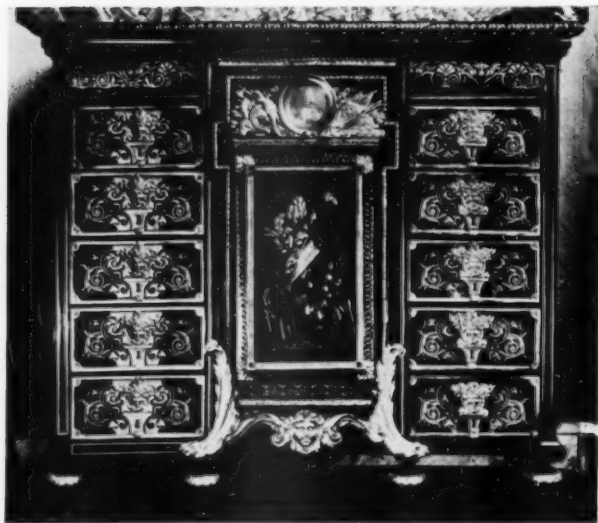
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*Greek Bronze Mirror (H. 15 $\frac{1}{4}$ ")
Cleveland Museum of Art*



*Boulle Cabinet (H. 3' 3 $\frac{7}{8}$ "; W. 3' 10 $\frac{5}{16}$ ")
Cleveland Museum of Art*

Mackenzie and the Arctic Ocean. From the St. Lawrence waterway they worked their way westward, establishing friendly relations with the Indians around the Great Lakes, crossed the easy portages to the Ohio and the Mississippi, and finally by way of the Missouri River found their way to the Rocky Mountains.

This class of fur traders rose from the harsh poverty of the first St. Lawrence settlements. Its leaders were often the sons of the Canadian *noblesse* who found in seventeenth century Canada no opportunity to live on their *seigniorial* grants except to work like their own peasants, for a peasant's hard living. The beaver trade offered them a profitable occupation, spiced by danger and adventure, to which the wild freedom of the woods gave an irresistible attraction. Du Lhut, La Salle, La Mothe-Cadillac, were just such men. All the efforts of the King's governors and intendants and of the priests of Quebec to keep the French colonists settled on their farms on the lower St. Lawrence, could not prevent the more adventurous from taking to this wandering, wild, lawless but picturesque and heroic life.

Detroit was founded as a fur trading post although Cadillac was wise enough to give it stability by bringing permanent settlers. When the British took possession of it in 1760, they found a half million dollars worth of furs in storage here. With the nineteenth century the fur trade gradually moved westward. The completion of the Erie Canal in 1825 opened Michigan to American settlers who cleared the land for farms. And with the coming of the railroads the historical importance of the waterway was forgotten. Only two buildings—the Mariners' Church at the foot of Woodward Avenue and one old brick warehouse—remained as landmarks of the days when the river was the dominant feature of life in Detroit; and it seems doubtful if the city cares enough for its past to preserve one of these.

A painting which has just been added to our collection, representing the life of the *coureurs de bois*, of an artistic value equal to its documentary interest, is therefore a most significant acquisition. One of the outstanding American painters, George Caleb Bingham grew up on the frontier in Missouri in time to see the life of the fur trappers in its last brilliant chapter. In his time the best trapping grounds for beaver were in the streams of the Rocky Mountains. He saw the trappers traveling up and down the Missouri River on their way to the fur market at St. Louis. Many Americans were now mingled with the French and the half-breed *coureurs de bois* but the life of the fur traders and their character remained the same. The Canadian trappers Rouleau and Saraphin whom Parkman described in the *Oregon Trail* sound very like their eighteenth century counterparts at Detroit: "Saraphin was a tall, powerful fellow with a sullen and sinister countenance. His rifle had very probably drawn other blood than that of buffalo or Indians. Rouleau had a broad, ruddy face, marked with as few traces of thought or care as a child's. His figure was square and strong, but the first joints of both his feet were frozen off, and his horse had lately thrown and trampled upon him, by which he had been severely injured in the chest. But nothing could subdue his gaiety. He went all day rolling about the camp on his stumps of feet, talking, singing, and frolicking with the Indian women. Rouleau had an unlucky partiality for squaws. He always had one, whom he must needs bedizen with beads, ribbons, and all the finery of an Indian wardrobe; and though he was obliged to leave her behind him during his expeditions, this hazardous necessity did not at all trouble him, for his disposition was the reverse of jealous."

A pair of *Fur Traders Descending the Missouri* in their dug-out canoe loaded with furs is the subject of one of Bingham's

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THOMAS SULLY, *Sketch of Andrew Jackson*
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Detroit Institute of Arts



WILLEM VAN DE VELDE THE YOUNGER,
Fishing Boats Off-shore in a Calm (H. $27\frac{1}{2}$ " ; W. $33\frac{1}{2}$ ")
Springfield Museum of Fine Arts

earliest paintings, executed before 1844. Since this picture passed into the possession of the Metropolitan Museum of Art some years ago it has become one of the celebrated American paintings. As so often happens in the case of Bingham's subjects, he painted the same theme more than once. His second, somewhat different composition, *The Trappers' Return*, was sold by him to the American Art Union in 1851, which sold it at auction in 1852. Thereafter the picture was lost sight of for nearly a hundred years until it was acquired this year from a private collector in Pittsburgh by The Old Print Shop and passed, as the generous gift of Mr. Dexter M. Ferry, Jr., into our collection. No more interesting nor more precious illustration of the adventurous life from which our city sprang could be imagined.

In *The Trappers' Return* Bingham was not only recording a remarkable aspect of life—he was also a remarkable artist. Largely self-taught, he had nevertheless perceptions and a sense of style of a fine painter. At a time when most landscapists were overinfluenced by the art of engraving and landscape paintings tended to be small in touch and rather meagre in color, Bingham's style was monumental in its simplicity of composition, large and easy in drawing, bold and assured in color. His rendering of the calm and slightly hazy atmosphere of a still morning shows an eye exceptionally sensitive to light and color. It is a picture that delights and refreshes the eye by its bold, clear, sensitive cords of color, its radiance of tone, its happy power.

The older trapper is puffing a clay pipe as he paddles slowly down the stream. He wears a red shirt and a blue cloth cap. His fierce eyes and furrowed face mark him as an example of the Saraphin type, made sullen by solitude. His younger companion who lies at ease on the painted buffalo skin thrown over their packets of furs, has the open, laughing face of a Rouleau, but

the instinctive ease with which his rifle is held ready illustrates the danger of their life. A black bear cub, tied to the prow of the dugout, stands uneasily, as if it was by no means accustomed yet to a life of captivity. The American soldiers of the twentieth century who pick up all kinds of strange pets the world over had predecessors.

The painting is signed on the canoe "G. C. Bingham 1851," the same year in which it appeared in the American Art Union catalogue as no. 173. The dimensions given for that entry, and the description, leave no question that this was our picture. Drawings for the two figures are in the Bingham sketchbook owned by the Mercantile Library, St. Louis, Missouri.

A GREEK BRONZE MIRROR

From an article by Silvia A. Wunderlich in the January, 1951, *Bulletin* of the Cleveland Museum of Art.

The aristocratic Greek lady, from the sixth century on, prinked before a mirror as does the modern woman. The ancient mirror, or speculum, introduced into Greece about this period, probably from Egypt, was of several types: the hand mirror; the mirror on a stand; and the covered mirror.

The Cleveland Museum has been most fortunate in acquiring recently through the J. H. Wade Fund a bronze mirror of the second type from the collection of the late Joseph Brummer. The Cleveland accession is complete except for the base under the supporting figure; the latter takes the form of a woman, probably Aphrodite, who stands upright with her right foot slightly in advance; she holds a flower in her outstretched right hand and with three fingers of her left pulls back the drapery

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of her garment in a gesture typical of many archaic statues. The mirror disk is attached to her head by means of a simple member, not too wide, which extends from the crown of her head around the bottom of the disk, ending on each side in volutes and a small palmette, and at the back is attached to the plate by a single beautifully designed palmette. To this member are fastened two flying Victories, not the usual Erotes, which hover about the head of the goddess. A beading surrounds the mirror disk and a handle ring is attached to the top for suspension. The goddess is dressed in the Doric peplos, attached to the shoulders by large fibulae, the overfold hanging far down on the right side. Underneath the peplos she wears the Ionic chiton, visible at the neck and on the arms. Her coiffure is of a simple style, the hair parted in the middle and hanging down the back.

The little bronze has been long known. At the time it was exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in London in 1904, it was dated about the end of the sixth century B.C. and was said to be "Argive rather than Attic."

Neugebauer also speaks of this piece. Its provenance is unknown, but he says it "may with great probability be thought to have been manufactured in Corinth or Argolis." Later Langlotz groups the Cleveland stand with a number of other mirrors in Lyons, Paris, Boston, Athens, and London. The distinguishing features of the group are the stiff, perpendicular stance of the body, the straightforward position of the head, the stylization of the garment, which clings to the body and reveals the forms beneath; the long apotygma of the peplos, which is often fastened with large fibulae on the shoulders; a face in which the brows are high-arched, the eyelids prominent, the bones of the cheeks visible through the skin. The little figures of women or goddesses so characterized, Langlotz considers to be

of Sikyon manufacture, the traits enumerated above separating them from those made in other centers of the Peloponnesus such as Argos or Corinth.

The flowering period of the Greek mirror was the first third of the fifth century and the Cleveland example belongs about the end of that period. It is just the moment before the unity between the parts was broken by too great a height in the connecting member; in the Cleveland example the proportions are still completely satisfying. Furthermore, the Cleveland mirror was made before the pose of the figure was softened as it was slightly, even in the Sikyon bronzes; it still has the stiff stance, the rigid and schematic carriage that was so felicitous a thought for a mirror stand.

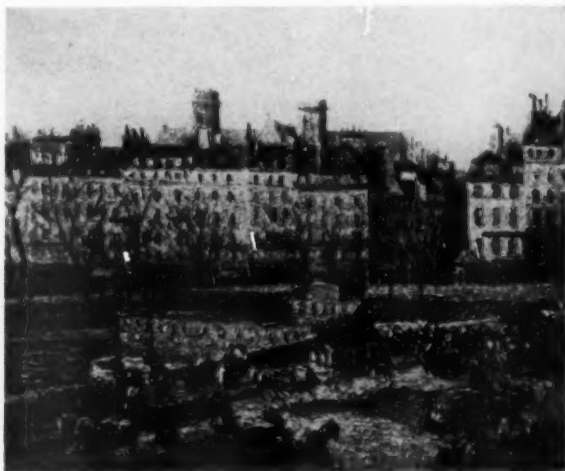
A BOULLE CABINET

From an article by William M. Milliken in the January, 1951, *Bulletin* of the Cleveland Museum of Art.

A remarkable Boulle cabinet in ebony, with marquetry in metal and tortoise shell, is a recent accession for the John L. Severance Collection. It came from Vienna and is one of a pair with a cabinet in the Palace of Versailles; both may have been a part of the original furniture of that chateau, which was sold at auction at the time of the French Revolution. The piece now in Versailles was placed there by the king Louis-Philippe, when, in the nineteenth century, he tried to restore Versailles to some of its former glory.

Artists and decorators working for the royal palaces often had lodgings in the Louvre, and the first member of the Boulle family, Pierre, lived there from about 1636. One cannot state his

Les Bains de la Samaritaine
C. J. Pissarro



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exact relationship to the greatest member of that family, André-Charles Boulle, who was made *marqueteur et ébéniste ordinaire du roi* in 1672 and who lodged in the Louvre from that time until his death on the twenty-seventh of February, 1732. It was André-Charles who more than anyone else took the style of incrustation and marquetry of the earlier part of the century and made of it not only an essentially French style but one which has since been called by the generic name of his family—Boulle.

What are the arguments that make it possible to attribute the new Severance piece to André-Charles Boulle? Like the piece in Versailles, the frame is ebony with designs in metal inlaid on a ground of tortoise shell. Further, the central panels on the front of each piece and the circular panels on each side are in wood marquetry on tortoise shell, with designs of parakeets and butterflies. To be sure the Versailles piece has been considerably restored, the lower and upper cornices being later; and some of the decorative moldings around the central wood panel are not original. However, the restoration of these non-essential parts does not affect its similarity to the beautifully preserved Cleveland piece.

A large armoire in the Louvre may seem to complicate the matter. It was restored in the eighteenth century but its style is pure Louis XIV; and an original sketch for it in the Musée des arts décoratifs assures its early date. The wood marquetry panels on the sides are slightly larger than, but almost identical in design with, the Cleveland piece and with the piece at Versailles. Wood marquetry on tortoise shell, in its essential quality, is seventeenth century, and it never appears in the late eighteenth century adaptations of the Boulle style. There is corroboration of this which gives a ground for this early dating in the account of the fire in the Louvre in 1720, when André-Charles Boulle's workshop and its contents were destroyed. The record reads:

"... five boxes filled with different flowers, birds, animals, foliage and ornaments in wood of all kinds and in natural colors, the greater part by *Sieur Boulle père* made in his youth." This record, added to documented pieces, establishes clearly a chronology.

A piece such as the new Cleveland accession for the Severance Collection, in its use of this early type of wood marquetry panels; in its relation to other pieces which have the same type of decoration and which can be dated by documents; in the rich quality of the inlay of metal on tortoise shell which seems clearly different from the eighteenth century examples of this type; and in the bold character of its ormolu, or metal fittings, which have none of the over-refinement of the late eighteenth century, can be surely dated before 1700 and can be attributed with every probability, but not with certainty, to the hand of the master himself, André-Charles Boulle.

A SKETCH OF ANDREW JACKSON BY THOMAS SULLY

From an article by Paul L. Grigaut in *The Detroit Institute of Arts Bulletin*, Vol. XXX, No. 1, 1950-51.

In a slight and precious portrait sketch—a few lines in charcoal traced on a stained blue-gray sheet of paper—recently presented to the Detroit Institute of Arts by Mrs. Walter O. Briggs, two great names are united: that of the artist Thomas Sully, who was the foremost portrait painter of the first half of the nineteenth century in this country, and that of the sitter Andrew Jackson, the most famous American general of his time. Adding still to the significance of the drawing is the fact that it was in all probability executed soon after the battle of New

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Orleans, when the victorious general reached the high point of his military career. It comes from the family of the artist himself, and is inscribed, apparently in Sully's hand: "Original sketch of General Jackson taken immediately after the battle of New Orleans."

When he made this sketch Thomas Sully (1783-1872) was at last firmly established in his position as a leading American artist. His early life had been difficult. Born in England, the son of English actors who came to this country when he was still a child, he had received only haphazard training. To study in England, however, was then the most necessary part of the training of all native painters—few sitters would have been satisfied with the product of a purely American painter. Somehow Sully, who until then had taken care of his brothers and sisters, managed to reach London. There, like all American students, he entered the studio of kind old Benjamin West, but the strongest influence upon Sully was that of Thomas Lawrence, the fashionable portrait painter. Sully did not stay long in London, only eight or nine months, until his money gave out. But when he returned to America things became easier for him and, after a short stay in New York, he left for Philadelphia where he was to reside for the rest of his long life. Probably the most prolific of American painters, he executed more than 2500 portraits, all of them charming and supremely competent, and not a few of them monotonously so, with their easy distinction, their keepsake sentimentality and the freedom of a technique which at times degenerated into unconscious trickery. With such qualities it is no wonder that during his life Sully was appreciated mostly as a painter of beautiful and rather ethereal women. Yet it is in his male portraits, or rather in a score of them, that Sully deserves his fame.

The sketch of Andrew Jackson now in Detroit is worthy of

these more ambitious portraits. That the General's features appealed to Sully is probable. In any case ten portraits of Jackson by him are listed in Sully's own "Account of Pictures," dating from 1817, when a design for a medal commemorating the battle of New Orleans was ordered by the Congress to Sully, to 1870, at the extreme end of the painter's long life. It is no exaggeration to say that the Detroit sketch is in its evocative understatement superior to the completed works. The "fairy-like, unsubstantial" quality which Tuckerman admired in Sully's painting and which we find today mildly exasperating, becomes an asset in such a rapid study. The mannered lightness of outline found in most of Sully's portraits is transformed here into a pleasant *sfumato*, a vaporous quality rare in drawings of the classical period, and the General's gaunt features, drawn on a sheet of faded paper, seem to emerge as if from a fog.

That Sully's sketch is a faithful likeness of Jackson is obvious when we compare it with the more pedestrian portrait executed two years later by Waldo. But it is also a sympathetic characterization of a man whom the artist admired. To the former saddler's apprentice and truculent Indian fighter born in a log cabin, the pupil of Lawrence has given an air of breeding and elegance. Jackson's long and narrow face, his passionate mouth and steely eyes, even his unruly gray hair—the only venerable thing about him, his enemies would say later—are here subtly transformed. In a few lines jotted hurriedly down the shrewd observer that Sully was when at his best has expressed the essential dignity of all heroes.

Farmyard Fowl—Ducks & Chickens

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A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY DUTCH SEASCAPE

From an article by Frederick B. Robinson in the Springfield Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, Vol. XVII, No. 1, 1950.

The art of painting in seventeenth century Holland reached a height of accomplishment in the interpretation of national character and scene equaled by few if any other schools. Within the span of less than one hundred years the galaxy of Dutch masters which established such absolutes in painting included, to name but a few, Vermeer in the painting of genre, Rembrandt and Hobbema in the depiction of landscape and Van de Capelle and Van de Velde the younger, in the glorifying of the Dutch seacoast and its shipping. All of these achieved in their respective phases of subject matter a highly personalized and sensitive capacity for the interpretation of space and light. In this lies much of their greatness. In this they are at one with other of the great masters from various periods and countries.

The last named of this group, Willem van de Velde the younger (1633-1707), in the field of marine painting was and is pre-eminent. It was his interest in and his ability for the recording of light and space which placed him as a painter on the same high pinnacle of achievement as the others. He limited his subjects to the sea and its ships. His paintings of this type seem miracles of captured light and space. Such is the Springfield Museum's most recent acquisition, *Fishing Off-Shore in a Calm*, purchased for the James Philip Gray Collection of paintings.

From 1653 to 1690 Willem the younger seems to have, with considerable consistency, dated his work. After that time until his death seventeen years later, there are few if any paintings which he dated. It was some six to seven years, however, after his first dated painting that his work became in great demand. Particularly was this true of his paintings of great historical

naval battles. These paintings are of unusual interest, as some of them were done for Dutch patrons while others show, through the change of emphasis on certain details, that they were intended for English clients.

The Museum's new painting is signed "W.V.V." at the lower left of the composition but it is not dated. It may well have been painted, therefore, after 1690, the year after which it was the exception for him to date his paintings. The picture has been in many well-known collections, including that of Viscount Sackville, fifth and last Duke of Dorset (1767-1843); Lady Elizabeth Sackville (1870); Earl de la Warr; Viscount d'Abernon—all of England; Mrs. B. F. Jones, Jr. of Pennsylvania and Mr. and Mrs. David Bingham of New York.

Besides being listed by Hofstede de Groot in his *Catalogue Raisonné of Dutch Painters* (VII, 1923, 89, no. 321) and other writers, the painting has been exhibited at the Royal Academy, London, 1871; the Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 1900; the Duveen Galleries, New York, 1942 and the Art Association of Montreal, 1944.

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RECENT PUBLICATIONS IN THE FIELD OF ART

ELIZABETH WILDER WEISMANN, *Mexico in Sculpture*. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1950. 224 pp., 170 illus. Reviewed by Pál Kelemen.

Very small is the number of books and articles in Spanish or Portuguese devoted to colonial sculpture in Latin America, and Elizabeth Wilder Weismann's *Mexico in Sculpture* is the first in English. Through her former connection with the Archive of Hispanic Culture in the Library of Congress and her co-authorship of *A Guide to the Art of Latin America*—an undertaking of distinguished success—Mrs. Weismann has gained a thorough knowledge of the pertinent literature in this field. Further, extensive travel has given her wide acquaintance with colonial art in the three-dimensional.

Mexico in Sculpture is called a picture book; indeed its 170 illustrations give splendid insight into a little-explored field. The examples she has gathered range from early sixteenth century stone crosses, fascinating in their blend of pagan and Christian iconography, to the veritable tapestries in stone on the façades of late eighteenth century churches, and the wood carving selections are as varied. The text is juxtaposed to the picture to which it relates. Although it was written to appeal to the general reader, a vast amount of important information and aesthetic evaluation is woven into it. For the specialist the Notes in the back of the book give all the data which was readily available or could be unearthed by the author's own research.

Every such volume when it reaches the reader's hand represents a compromise with the author's dream. As his manuscript

advances, he usually realizes that it cannot be the alpha and omega in his field nor can he touch upon all the sidelines which beckon him. Also, when the publisher's manufacturing department is through with it the author may feel somewhat estranged from the child of his own intellect. In this case, it is regrettable that the illustrations were reproduced by the collotype process. The gelatin plate, even when most carefully executed, cannot give back in full depth and tonality what clear photographs have caught; in this volume they seldom do justice to the exquisite pictures—many of them taken by the author herself.

Mrs. Weismann's material was expertly chosen and is ably presented. But there will be those who hoped for a different selection of pictures, differently interpreted, and some will probably say so with venom in the manner that unfortunately characterizes many book reviews today. However, colonial art, whether in Mexico or Latin America in general, is a vast flower garden from which every picker can still emerge with a spectacular bouquet of different color and perfume. It is to be hoped that Mrs. Weismann with her vast knowledge and experience will continue to publish the results of her research which could not be accommodated in this volume.

On paging through the book the reader is struck by the atmosphere of a tremendously powerful artistic culture. Mrs. Weismann deserves especial praise for her courage and flair in sensing the unsophisticated, the folkloristic in this art and bringing it into focus. *Mexico in Sculpture* will be invaluable to the student and will prove a delightful companion to the traveler. The text, articulate and poetic, is permeated with a personality who not only knows but loves her subject.

TRAVELERS IN ARCADIA

American Artists in Italy 1830-1875

Text by E. P. Richardson and Otto Wittmann, Jr.

40 illustrations

Price \$1.25

Published jointly by The Detroit Institute of Arts

and

The Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio

L'Encyclopédie et les Encyclopédistes en France au XVIIIème Siècle. New York, Services Culturels de L'Ambassade de France, 1950.

Exhibitions in which literary themes and artistic currents are intermingled to form an integral whole are common in France, where they form one of the most pleasant and subtle *jeux de l'esprit* of French intellectual life. Such exhibitions are rare in America and are usually confined to university or museum libraries. In any case they do not enjoy the publicity which attends more obvious or more flamboyant projects. Yet they are extremely useful to the art historian, since they rarely fail to open new vistas by making concrete and clear the concept so well expressed by the Goncourts in the phrase: "la corrélation, le superbe enchaînement des choses." The comprehensive exhibition "L'Encyclopédie et les Encyclopédistes," recently shown in New York and for which a useful catalogue was published, was such an exhibition. In its completeness and painstaking presentation it represented, for this writer at least, French scholarship and French taste at their best. The largest section of the exhibition, logically, was devoted to the literary and historical importance of the *Encyclopédie*. It included *morceaux de choix* such as the autographed manuscript of Diderot's *Neveu de Rameau* and the copy of the *Encyclopédie* in morocco which apparently belonged to Le Breton (the printer of the dictionary), with some 300 pages annotated by Diderot. The section devoted to paintings and drawings of the period, although smaller, was equally valuable and was composed of works rarely shown publicly. The splendid *Fontenelle* by Aved; Greuze's *Famille Réconciliée*; a large conversation piece by Philippe Mercier; the little-known *Voltaire* by La Tour; these alone would have been worth a visit to the New York headquarters of the French Embassy, whose Services Culturels sponsored the exhibition. It is difficult to imagine better propaganda for France than such an undertaking.

ROBERT GEORGE REISNER, *Fakes and Forgeries in the Fine Arts. A Bibliography.* New York, Special Libraries Association, 1950. \$1.75.

This is a useful tool, one which all collectors, and perhaps many curators, should possess. As the introduction states: "There is a definite need for an exhaustive bibliography on the subject of fakes and forgeries of works of art," and this writer (who belongs to the second category) already has had several occasions to refer to it and to appreciate the enormous amount of labor and minute checking which such a work entails. Yet it would not be just to praise the bibliography without some qualifications. The arrangement, it is true, is in general quite clear and logical, each type of art object being discussed successively according to its medium. Each section is subdivided into: books devoted entirely to the subject; books containing sections devoted to the subject; periodical articles. At times, however, the compilation gives the impression of being undigested. Within each of the three subdivisions the use of an alphabetical order by authors may become exasperating: it is impossible, for instance, to find relevant material about the false Chiricos which caused some perturbation in New York several years ago without first reading 200 entries under "painting." This is admittedly an extreme case, since that particular section is by far the longest; but subdividing the section (perhaps according to nationalities) would have been helpful. Sometimes also these apparently clear-cut subdivisions which plague museum registrars are misleading: the important article by Adolph Goldschmidt in the *Walters Gallery Journal* (1943) on pseudo-Gothic Spanish ivory triptychs is to be found under "sculpture"; yet it is not very different from the article by Charles Morey on the pseudo-Gothic

ivories in the Hearn collection which is more logically placed in the section on "ivory."

To expect that the compiler would read all the articles he mentions would be absurd and unfair. Yet a rapid spot check of a few references forgotten by or unknown to this reviewer, made him feel uncomfortable. Has Alan Burroughs' "New Illustrations of Rembrandt's Style" in the *Burlington Magazine* (1931) really a place in this bibliography on "fakes and forgeries"? It gives only passing references to the relationship of Rembrandt and some of his contemporaries. Omissions are perhaps more serious and, in the case of articles at least, difficult to detect. Again after too rapid a spot check on certain subjects, one fears that the bibliography is not indeed as exhaustive as both reader and compiler hoped. To take only one example chosen almost at random, the valuable comments by Percy Moore Turner on the "Representation of the British School in the Louvre" (*Burlington*, 1907), illuminating and thorough, surely deserve a place here. And since the pamphlet is directed also to collectors, a mention of Stephen Grancsay's full note on forgeries of American engraved power horns in his book of that name (1946) or, say, of Hobson's chapter on forgeries in his *Worcester Porcelain* may be missed by some. But all things considered it is impossible to underestimate the usefulness of this bibliography. Supplemented perhaps by the notes of one of the best books on the subject, Otto Kurz's *Fakes* (Yale University Press, 1948), it is indispensable to most of us.

Travelers in Arcadia: American Artists in Italy, 1830-1875. Detroit Institute of Arts and the Toledo Museum of Art, 1951. \$1.25.

For many years now little interest has been shown in paintings executed in Italy by American artists. Most of them have been

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relegated to museum storerooms or dealers' shelves, next to the despised French academic painters of the eighties and nineties. Somehow in their patriotic fervor, the critics who, a decade ago, rightly proclaimed the importance of "honest" American painting and rediscovered its charm, seem to have confined their interest to purely American landscapes and genre scenes and carefully ignored other subjects. Yet a number of these "Italian" works, many perhaps, do not deserve such a fate. Under guise of an original and, in a way, revolutionary "theme" show—American Artists in Italy—Mr. Richardson and Mr. Wittmann have attempted, in part to rehabilitate some of these "Travelers in Arcadia," in part to show how important a role Italy played in the imaginative life of this country in the romantic period. Such a theme was by no means artificial: in an appendix to the catalogue is given a list, admittedly incomplete, of over one hundred American artists who worked in Italy from the thirties to the seventies of the nineteenth century. The result of Mr. Richardson's and Mr. Wittmann's collaboration was a pleasant, mature, often illuminating exhibition in which works historically important complemented genuinely beautiful works of art. The catalogue itself is a model of what exhibition catalogues should be: concise, informative and scholarly, with long quotations from contemporary authors which help to recreate in words rather than in brushstrokes the spiritual background of the American colony in Rome.

That some of the paintings exhibited are to be considered as documents rather than great works of art is obvious. But most of them are of extreme interest. There exist few American portraits more original in conception than the romantic tondo by W. J. Hubbard which depicts the painter and his friend Mann Valentine watching the characters of the latter's fantastic novel, *Amadeus*, moving eerily in the background. The portrait of Margaret Fuller seated in the loggia of a Venetian palazzo (painted by Thomas Hicks in Rome in 1848) is not great art; and yet it is difficult to forget its emotional quality, the sloping shoulders of the Marchioness, her dreamy eyes and bitter mouth. Other works answer better our conception of quality in painting. The portrait of Trelawny by William West, the Kentucky painter, which may be considered a discovery, is indeed, as Mr. Richardson states, one of the most interesting of American romantic portraits. Samuel Morse's *Shrine*, discovered in Detroit, is one of the painter's most pleasing genre scenes, high in tone and clever in composition, while John Gadsby Chapman's etchings colored in oil deserve close study. But two painters, whose works can be studied adequately in the Detroit exhibition, stand out: Elihu Vedder, represented by carefully chosen examples, and whose *Corner of Capri* has the pearly

coolness of an early Corot; and William Page, whose evolution can be traced for the first time, I believe, in eleven canvases of extraordinary interest, including a *Cupid and Psyche* and an immense and intensely religious *Flight into Egypt* which have no equivalent in American art.

Masterpieces of Drawing, Diamond Jubilee Exhibition, 1950-1951. Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Our European readers as well as our American subscribers should know of this exhibition of some hundred drawings, which will take its place beside the other two great American shows of master drawings which have preceded it: the 1935 Buffalo exhibition and the "Paul Sachs" exhibition held at the Fogg Museum in 1949. In quality and diversity these two pioneer exhibitions, important dates in the history of taste in America, seemed each in turn to form the final word. But Mr. Zigrosser, to commemorate the Diamond Jubilee of his museum, succeeded in grouping around famous drawings a great number of little-known ones, some jealously guarded in private collections, others "sleepers" shall we say? in public institutions. Beautifully balanced, with each drawing a masterpiece of its time, the exhibition perhaps owed a great part of its success to its modern section, if anything even more carefully assembled than the earlier ones. After Tietze's excellent introduction to *European Master Drawings in the United States*, or Miss Mongan's comments on the importance of old master drawings, it seemed that nothing remained to be said. Yet, in a few pages Mr. Zigrosser has succeeded in adding still more to our appreciation.

Picture Books: Egyptian Mummies; Black-Figure and Red-Figure Greek Pottery; Chinese Pottery Figurines. Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, University of Toronto Press, 1950.

The Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology is one of the most important museums on the continent, mostly because of its classical collections and, even more, its extraordinary galleries of Chinese art. The latter particularly are not as well-known as they should be, due to the lack of adequate illustrated catalogues. These charming picture booklets therefore are all the more welcome. The illustrations are well chosen and the notes informative. The three volumes already printed are concerned with those sections of the Museum Collections which are the most outstanding. It is hoped that these are only the first of a long and useful series.



